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The Effect of Red China Communes on the  
United States

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**THE EFFECT OF RED CHINA COMMUNES  
ON THE UNITED STATES**

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**HEARING**  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD HUNTER

MARCH 24, 1959

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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## SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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KENNETH B. KEATING, New York

J. G. SOURWINE, *Chief Counsel*

BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

# THE EFFECT OF RED CHINA COMMUNES ON THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1959

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER  
INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:40 a.m., in room 424, Senator Kenneth B. Keating presiding.

Present: Senators Keating and Thomas J. Dodd, vice chairman.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

Senator KEATING. The subcommittee will come to order.

The acting chairman is temporarily detained at another committee meeting and has requested me to proceed.

Our witness this morning is Mr. Edward Hunter.

Mr. Hunter, would you tell us a little bit about yourself, and give us a little biography, in brief, capsule form.

## STATEMENT OF EDWARD HUNTER

Mr. HUNTER. I will try.

I go far back, as far back as the Tanaka Memorial, when I first went out to Asia.

My career paralleled the development of modern psychological warfare, unintentionally, of course. No one could have looked into the future, starting with the creation of the puppet state of Manchukuo, which I witnessed on the spot, and which some of the older people will remember.

I was in Ethiopia for the conquest of that country by the Fascists. I witnessed, also as a foreign correspondent, two Spanish civil wars. First came the rehearsal for the big civil war, and then the civil war itself, which was a rehearsal for World War II.

I covered the various foreign offices in Europe from the Wilhelmstrasse and 10 Downing Street to the Quai D'Orsay, on the eve of World War II.

I saw the elements that were building up into a psychological warfare pattern, such as the reoccupation of the Rhineland, when we had the opportunity of staving off a war, but at the vital moment lost courage.

I came back home for a while and worked on a New York newspaper as a foreign news editor.

Senator KEATING. What paper?

Mr. HUNTER. The New York Post.

While there I learned about the infiltration tactics in the United States. Then, as the war became real for us, I went into the OSS—the Office of Strategic Services.

Senator KEATING. When did you enter that?

Mr. HUNTER. Just about the time of Pearl Harbor.

I didn't really enter it, I was "entered." I received a phone call and asked to visit an office where I was told that they had been investigating me for a year, and that I was hired.

After the war I spent a short time back in New York.

Senator KEATING. You were in the OSS how long?

Mr. HUNTER. From about Pearl Harbor until after OSS closed up shop. I helped close up shop, and then stayed under various other alphabetical organizations, such as SSU—the Strategic Services Unit of the Army.

Then I went back to the New York Post, but the call of foreign correspondency was too strong for me, and I went back into Asia, and that really began my career as an analyst, on the basis of the long experiences I had already had. I had warned that the Japanese ultramilitarists would not quit Manchuria in spite of what was said at the League of Nations. I had foreseen a pact between Stalin and Hitler. I had gone into the area where all the inhabitants of three villages had been massacred. My dispatches on this subject were read into the minutes of the League of Nations at what I was told was one of its most dramatic sessions.

I was called a warmonger because I had warned that World War II was starting in Manchuria when the conquest of Manchuria by the Japanese began on September 18, 1931.

After World War II, I had—I do not know whether to call it the good fortune—to discover the technique of mind attack—brainwashing—and to put that word into our language. The word came out of the suffering of the Chinese people. I was the first to use the word in writing in any language, and the first, except for the Chinese, to use the word in speech in any language. There should be a monument to an unknown Chinese hero who, when the mental pressures imposed on him by the Communists became too intense, exclaimed, "Hsi-nao"—wash brain.

I came, too, across the Pavlovian link to brainwashing.

Senator KEATING. You are in what year now?

Mr. HUNTER. Soon after the occupation of the Chinese mainland. That must be around 1951, or just before.

I warned that the Red Chinese would participate in the Korean war. I reported incontrovertible evidence on it, given me by one of the great American heroes of all time, Gen. Claire L. Chennault. He was laughed down as a man who just wanted to sell airplanes.

I then returned to the United States and became a consultant for the U.S. Air Force on brainwashing.

Senator KEATING. That was what year?

Mr. HUNTER. That was before Panmunjom. I was in Korea when the Chinese Communists attacked. I was there through the drive to "bring the boys home by Christmas."

Senator KEATING. You were in Korea then?

Mr. HUNTER. I was with the vanguard of the 8th Division. I witnessed Americans under a type of mesmerism that I thought never could happen to us. Americans built up the illusion that they were going home for Christmas, and that, hence, the Chinese Army could not be there. I tried to refute that. But Americans are inveterate optimists, sometimes dangerously so.

I warned in my articles that there would be American soldiers who would say they did not want to come home. Practically all the newspapers refused to publish what I wrote on that, saying it was impossible.

At Hong Kong, I obtained the first evidence of the Chinese Communist government's export of drugs and heroin for political and financial motives. I revealed that.

During my year at home as a consultant for the Air Force, I had the wonderful opportunity of presenting some of the analyses that literally made their way into the "American Code of Prisoners of War" and accompanying documents. I resumed my writing, gathering material for my books.

Senator KEATING. You were back in the Air Force here for—

Mr. HUNTER. About a year, as a consultant.

Senator KEATING. You left that in 1952 sometime?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; and went back to Asia, where I gathered material for two additional books.

My first book had been "Brain Washing in Red China." That created history, but it was hushed up for a long time, until so many Americans had suffered under it that it could no longer be concealed.

I had a wonderful experience. I thought I had finished entirely with the subject of brainwashing, but people who had gone under this mental torture began contacting me. I found that when they were telling me how they had survived these pressures, they all gave the same reasons. This meant that I had the formula for the preservation of a mind, not only for the destruction of a mind. This went into my second book on the subject, "Brainwashing: The Story of Men Who Defied It."

Senator KEATING. When was that published?

Mr. HUNTER. About 3 years ago. That was when I came up against a great resistance which revealed America's main vulnerability. To my amazement, my finding that convictions and faith play a foremost part in resisting mental pressures was actually resented by important elements in our population. They did not want to hear it.

Meanwhile, I had come across one of the most extraordinary personalities in the world, a Chinese woman named Mary Liu. Her experiences in the religious field were incontrovertible.

Senator KEATING. Where did you meet her?

Mr. HUNTER. In Hong Kong, when she came out of China. I saw her for prolonged periods during the next 2 years, too, in Singapore and New York; and gradually her story evolved into a book. It is the story from behind the scenes, as only a native could see it, of what actually happens to religion under communism. I put that into a book entitled "The Story of Mary Liu."

Senator KEATING. When was that published?

Mr. HUNTER. About 2 years ago. Every name and every detail in the book is true. I had, as an American author, the extraordinary

experience of having the manuscript refused by American publishers until it first was accepted by a wonderful publishing house in England and published there, and then they were courageous enough to publish it here.

Recently, I was asked to do a pamphlet on China, but found so much firsthand material—if we only opened our eyes to it and used it—that I had to do a book on it. This is “The Black Book on Red China.” An old-fashioned habit of mine, that I learned in the newspaper offices of a generation ago, was to go only to firsthand sources for my information. For my “Black Book on Red China” I used only Chinese Communist material. It’s their story, except that I translated their double-talk into ordinary language. This was all that was necessary. The book had quite an impact at the United Nations, I am told.

Senator KEATING. That has just recently been published?

Mr. HUNTER. Within the last few months. I was sick for 6 weeks afterward, because to complete it in time for the United Nations session, I lived like a hermit, in the center of New York, in the McAlpin Hotel, losing sense of day and night, for 7 weeks doing that book.

I had just done another book, after spending a year in Afghanistan, entitled “The Past Present: A Year in Afghanistan.” It was published only a few days ago; curiously enough, again first in England. It greatly concerns the United States. There has never been anything as detailed on that part of the Moslem world.

I am afraid, although I tried to put my biography into capsule form, the mere skeletonized information made it a pretty big capsule.

Senator KEATING. Well, we appreciate that statement of your background.

For the record, let me say that this committee is interested at the moment in Red Chinese communes, because of what they mean to us in this country, the impact which they might have on our affairs, our foreign policy.

If you will bear that in mind in the questions that are put to you, we will appreciate it.

It is not up to us to tell Communist China how to run their affairs, but we are very much interested in the effect of what they do, and the impact it might have on us and on this country.

Now what recent developments in Communist China do you think are of direct significance or concern to us at the present time?

Mr. HUNTER. The one big, recent development, which has very many ramifications, is the creation of these communes.

Senator KEATING. Tell us what a commune is.

Mr. HUNTER. A commune is a community intended to be self-sustaining, in which all functions are conducted simultaneously by the same individuals, everything from agriculture to working in a factory. Every man is a farmer, every man is a factory worker, every man is a soldier, every man is a slave.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, it is a human ant heap?

Mr. HUNTER. It is an ant heap. It so closely approximates an ant heap that I would have difficulty telling the difference, except in size.

Senator KEATING. How does Mr. X, a member of this commune, spend his time? Can he be called into any kind of activity?

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. X is exactly that, and Mrs. X, too—an X—a nonentity, taken over, body and soul, during his sleeping and his wak-



ing periods. Except that his sleeping periods are very short. The rest is for intense labor, wherever the Communist Party wishes to send him, no matter how many hundreds of miles away, no matter whether in midwinter, under the most adverse conditions, with only nominal pay. His is simply a survival existence.

He is completely at the beck and call of the party, and his leisure time is completely eliminated, deliberately so, as part of the mind control and body control pattern of the Communist Party of China.

"Today people do not work for 8 hours, but work, voluntarily, for 10 or 12 hours, and when needed, work through the whole night," wrote the People's Daily, the party mouthpiece at Peiping, on September 13, 1958. The next day it reported a worker in a weaving mill saying, "In our factory the workers now work 12 hours, and have suppressed the rest of their own accord, offering to work on days of rest for nothing."

"Is it not cheap to work for money?" asked the party magazine, cynically entitled "Liberation," also September 13.

Senator KEATING. If a man, for instance, is a farmer, he would not necessarily be doing farming?

Mr. HUNTER. No, because under the new rationalization program of the party, in this Communist paradise, they have discovered that farmers work intensively for certain months in a year, and then relax. Well, these periods of relaxation have now been taken up so that none are left, so that the farmer is at the same time a factory worker, and a laborer in a construction gang, and at all times a soldier, called on to fight against his brethren, actually himself. He is trapped in an impossible corner.

Senator KEATING. How much of a geographical area would one of these communes cover?

Mr. HUNTER. The communes, as of today, fit no pattern. As always under Communist procedure, once they set the principle, it is a matter of flexibility. You have communes that cover only some thousands of acres, and you have communes the size of some of our smaller States.

A commune actually is a merger of a number of collective farms. These were made up out of individual, private farms, as soon as the propaganda purposes of the much-publicized land reform program were accomplished, and the land could be taken away from the farmers to whom it had been given.

The Communist Party of China, in a resolution adopted on December 10, 1958, at its Central Committee plenary meeting, declared:

Within a few months starting in the summer of 1958, all of the more than 740,000 agricultural producers' cooperatives in the country, in response to the enthusiastic demand of the mass of peasants, reorganized themselves into over 26,000 people's communes. Over 120 million households, or more than 99 per cent of all China's peasant households of various nationalities, have joined the people's communes.

The People's Daily in Peking on September 3, 1958, reported communes "usually have a membership of 10,000 people each, in some cases 10,000 households."

Mr. SOURWINE. Is a man or woman ever shipped from one commune to another?

Mr. HUNTER. Not under the present program. A man stays in his own ant heap. He can be shipped to projects elsewhere, but belongs to the commune. He belongs to his ant heap, and his wife does, too. He may rarely see her, or not at all, if they are shipped to different places, and cannot see his children, either. They are taken away and put in so-called nurseries. Automatically this eliminates—solves, under Communist theory—such problems as the family and religion, as well as bottling up the hatred of the people for communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said it solves the problems of family and religion. It solves them only by destroying the family and destroying religion.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. It is a desperate effort. The communes are not the creation of a planned program, but an act of desperation as a result of the Moscow-Peking Axis learning, from Hungary's revolt, and its equivalent in China, the so-called Hundred Flowers self-expression movement, which became part of the continuing revolt on the soil of China—that the people on all levels, intellectuals, students, administrators, even inside the Communist Party—hate the Communist Party. This, along with the chaos and failure of the cooperatized farms, forced recourse to some new, desperate measure to intensify the brainwashing controls against the people. The communes are fundamentally a control project.

Senator KEATING. When were the communes started?

Mr. HUNTER. They were begun about a year and a half ago.

For a half a year or so before that, as is the usual Communist Party technique, the first experiments were made secretly, and their announcement came only after some of the communes were already established and in working order—the window display communes, such as the huge Sputnik commune.

Senator KEATING. But were they established by the government as such?

Mr. HUNTER. They were set up by the Communist Party, not by the government.

Senator KEATING. By the party?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. The party has, in effect, replaced the Government in China, which helps explain why Mao Tse-tung stepped out as its chairman. The army, which is closely identified with the party, is now replacing the party in control of the communes system.

Senator KEATING. What happens to a professional man in one of these communes?

Mr. HUNTER. The communes had, among other purposes, the liquidation of the intellectual, the writer, and the thinking man. In the Hundred Flowers movement the Red hierarchy had expected the writers and students to come out and criticize within the framework of "all roads leading to socialism," which is the way Prime Minister Nehru of India prefers to express it. Instead of doing so, they came forth with outpouring of hatred, and revealed themselves as unalterably opposed to communism. The announced program of the communes system is to eliminate these writers and intellectuals entirely as a class. They have not been successfully brainwashed, and so must be suppressed. A new crop of writers and artists is to be evolved out of the mass of communized—commune-ized—people, un-

der the assumption, expressed by slogans, that everyone when ordered to do so, can do whatever is demanded, wherever wanted. A new start is to be made, with mind control characterizing it from the beginning.



"Study Goes Hand in Hand With Work," is the article that this picture illustrates. Its legend: "Tsing Hua students have combined their studies with productive labor in line with the 'part-work and party-study' program." The article, by Kao Yi, assistant to the president of this once fine Peking institution of higher learning, frankly states: "Since the spring of 1958, a great change has taken place in the beautiful Tsing Hua University—as in all other educational institutes in China—in which the students' studies are being brought into line with the needs of the 'big leap forward.' The main aim of the change is to do away with the remnants of the bourgeois educational system, and bring into being a Communist educational policy of identifying the intellectuals with the workers and peasants, combining mental and manual labor, and integrating studies with productive work, so that the schools will be transformed into institutions of production as well as learning." This was published in a late 1958 issue of "China Pictorial," No. 101.

"We shall break down the former dreary situation in which we had to rely on a small number of 'authors,'" is the way it was expressed by Chen Chien-ping, director of the Honan Provincial Cultural Bureau, in an article on cultural activities in communes, published November 2, 1958 in the Shanghai Wen-hui Pao. After starting out by saying, "Politics must take command," he declares: "Literary ranks must be purified. Among the rank and file of the cultural workers, we must achieve the combination of culture and art, politics and propaganda, and labor and production."

He cited the example of party secretaries assuming direction of literature and art generally. These become mere bureaucratic functions. The intellectual in turn becomes a party functionary, a rubber-stamp mind. Of course this is doomed to failure. "The secretary of the party committee of the Hsiping people's commune personally presides over meetings on creative literary work for the discussion of collectively written stage plays," he says in his article, actually a directive. Along with hundreds of thousands working at forges, he went on, "a literary artist army of hundreds of thousands" is mobilized to produce propagandist art and literature about iron and steel production in home-made furnaces. The slave laborers are manipulated into producing their own propaganda.

Now that literature has done its work, as farm reform did its work, in fooling the American and the Chinese public, the intellectuals are put on the scrap heap, along with independent farmers.



"They Are Becoming the Masters of Culture" is the title of an article which this photo illustrates in the January 20, 1959 issue of "China Pictorial," published in Peiping, Communist China. The caption reads: "Chang Yu-sen, a stockman of Tsunhua County, Hopei Province, has recently earned himself fame as an artist." This gives an idea of what passes for art—and literature—with the elimination of the professional writers and artists who, when the test came with the Hundred Flowers self-expression movement, showed they, too, hated communism.

Senator KEATING. You mean farm reform in China, not the United States.

Mr. HUNTER. Of course. When I talk here of China, in this context, I mean Red China, the mainland. Free China, of course, is truly China.

Senator KEATING. That is right.

Mr. HUNTER. But the mainland remains China, exactly as the mainland of the United States would still be America if we ever suffered similarly.

Senator KEATING. Do these communes have leaders named by the party?

Mr. HUNTER. The party constitutes the leadership.

The communes organization parallels that of the Chinese provinces and counties. It would be exactly as if the party that won in the United States would decree that States and counties cease to exist, but that their governments would become administrators of communes, inside the same borders, with the political chief in each delivering the orders.

Senator KEATING. Well, have they abolished the subordinate political subdivisions in Red China?

Mr. HUNTER. They have been merged into communes.

Senator KEATING. Now, have you been in Red China, yourself?

Mr. HUNTER. I have been in Asia on and off ever since the Tanaka regime in Japan. I have been in Asia two-thirds of the time, a great deal of it in China. In the early days, I saw the Red areas, was editor of two English-language newspapers in China, after being a news editor in Japan.

Senator KEATING. You have not been in Red China since the communes were established?

Mr. HUNTER. Oh no; of course not. That is too recent. I have in recent years been on exhaustive trips all around Red China's borders, from Afghanistan through Burma and Indochina and up to Japan, as well as in Hong Kong, of course.

Senator KEATING. What is the source of your information about these communes?

Mr. HUNTER. I have restricted my information to first-hand, Communist Chinese sources. Their own documentation, their own statements, the proceedings at their political conferences and other party meetings, and communications with people still in China. All Communist Chinese material, first-hand. Because of the controversial nature of the subjects I write about, I avoid second-hand sources, no matter how reliable.

Senator KEATING. What do the Chinese Communists expect to accomplish by the establishment of these communes?

Mr. HUNTER. They have two main objectives, and they boil down into one overall result—a semiconcealed objective. That is to capture the minds of the people, to intensify control over the Chinese. They know that Communism, after nearly 10 years in power, instead of having the approval of any important sector of the population, has succeeded only in obtaining the hatred of all.

The proclaimed purpose of the communes, and it is a true purpose, is to increase productivity, to squeeze more out of the impoverished Chinese people. The unavoidable, overall purpose, an integral part of the Communist program, is simply military. It is a war measure. We could drop the word "communes" entirely and refer to the mainland as an army-occupied region, completely mobilized for war. This would be a true description of it.

Senator KEATING. Are they armed?

Mr. HUNTER. Many are armed; all get army training. A great proportion of those who are trusted are armed, especially the quite young, whose idealism can be exploited the most—girls between the ages of 17 and 22, young men between the ages of 16 and 30. They constitute what the magazine Peking Review of September 30, 1958, called the key militia.

Senator KEATING. Tell me, do they have military officers connected with each commune?

Mr. HUNTER. A few months after the establishment of the communes, when it became evident that they were opposed, that the people would rise up, and that this was an impossible situation to let go on indefinitely, Red army officers were brought in. Veterans of the Communist warfare, who are encouraged to consider themselves superior to ordinary folk, were given responsible training posts in the militarization of the communes, which were organized as militia from the start.

Senator KEATING. You have some pictures which you furnished to the committee of soldiers and training personnel of those communes; is that one?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. There are a number of other pictures here which I could give you, if you wish.

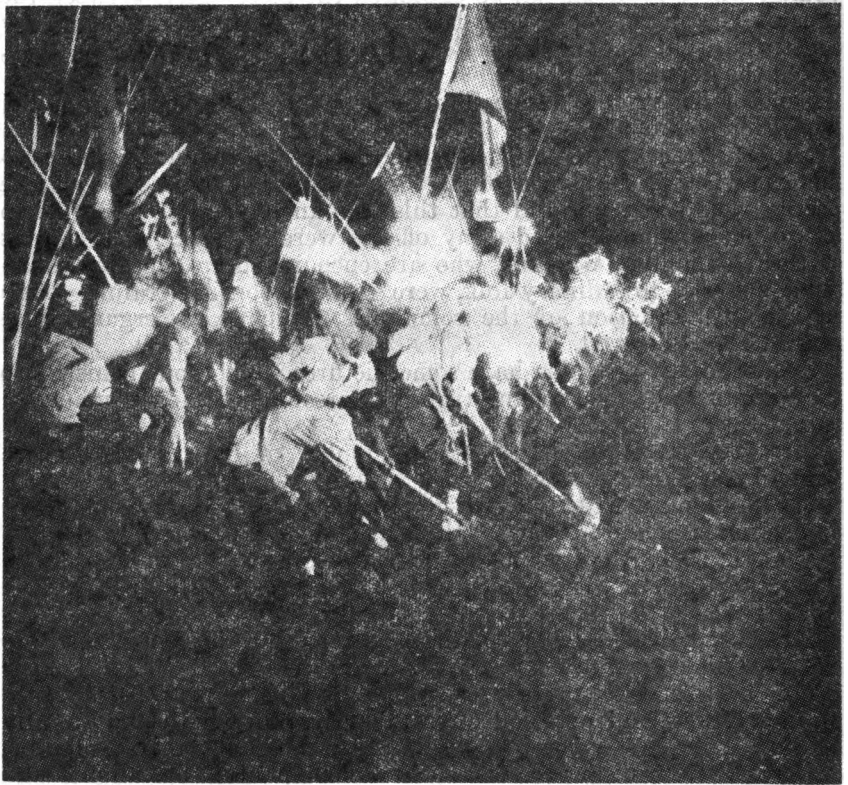
Mr. SOURWINE. If they were submitted for the record, we can make a selection later and print what the chairman orders.

Senator KEATING. If you will do that, we would appreciate it.

What are the conditions of labor in a commune? How long do they work?

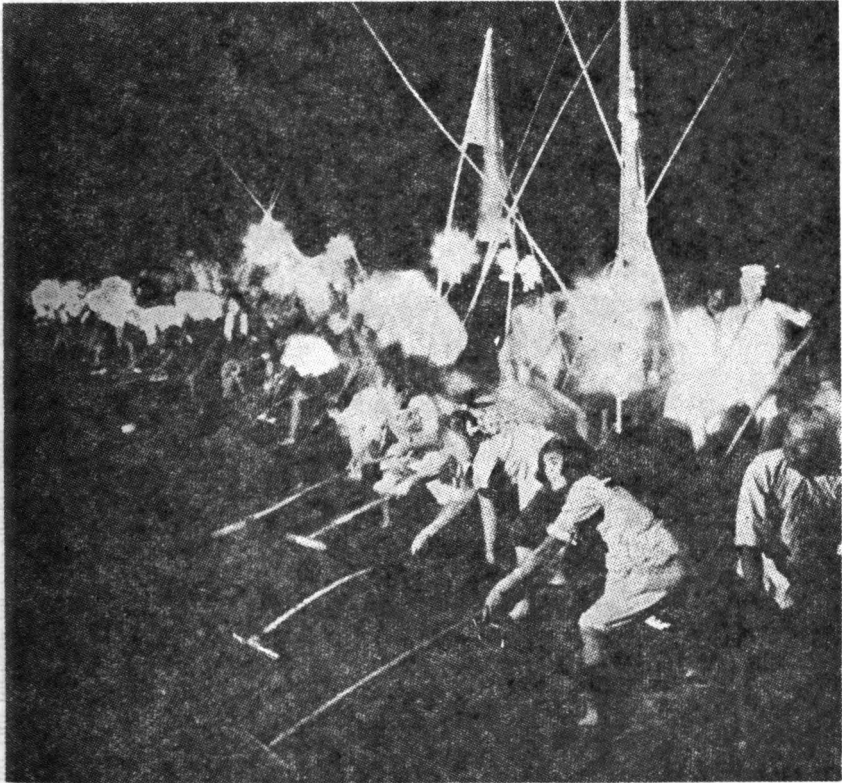
Mr. HUNTER. The labor conditions are simply those of a slave society. This is a matter directly related to the United States. Labor is now completely changed over from merely beings serfs, as the people mostly were under the collectives; they are now wholly and literally slaves. They are under a military regimen called labor discipline, organized in military ranks such as companies, battalions, and regiments.

"Labor discipline" is a cynical term as employed by the Communists. It means obligatory consent to 12-hour and 16-hour workdays, with relinquishment of days off, and work often far into the night as well, for both men and women, often in deep mud and in driving rain or in deep snow, under intense heat or in subzero weather. Cynically, "labor discipline" means the suggestions and resolutions for such oppressive labor conditions must come from labor's own ranks, to fit into the Communist terminology of being voluntary. Women work like men, and children of 9 and above are required to participate in labor, under the commune regulations.

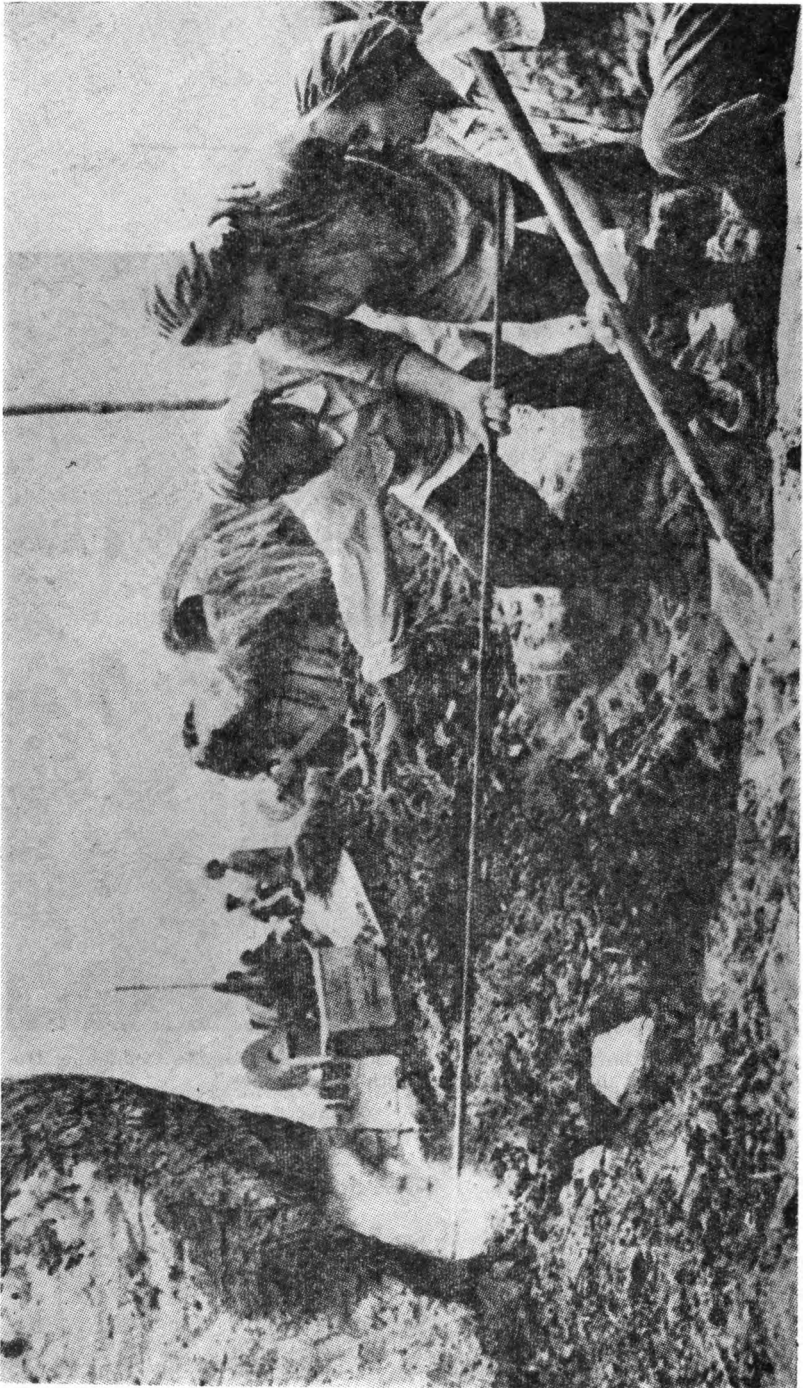


Slave labor under the searchlight, men and women at night. This picture, from the Chinese Communist magazine "China Reconstructs," of December 1958 is captioned: "With commune organization, the battle against nature goes on

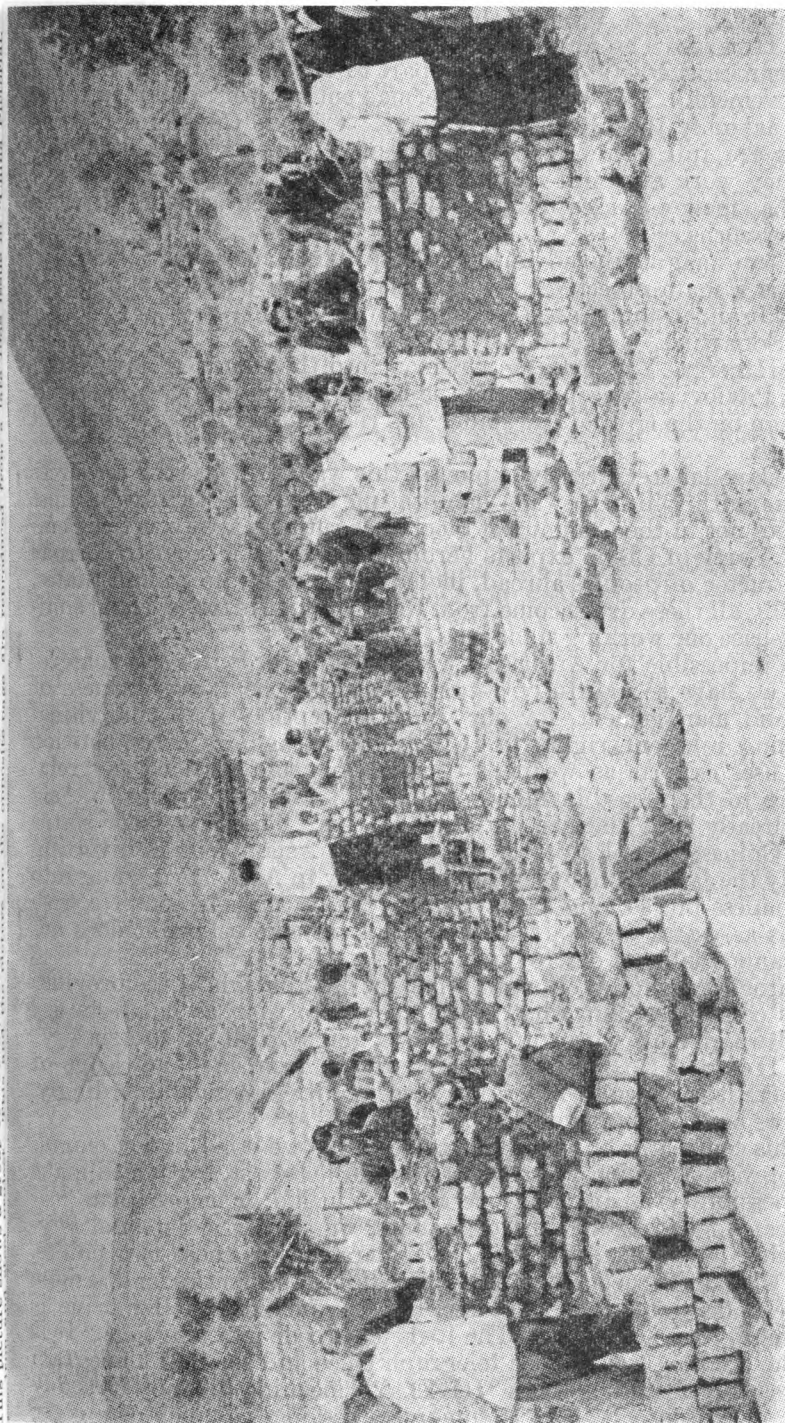




day and night. Above, members of the Shangcheng People's Commune, Honan Province, work up the earth to a depth of 14 inches."



This picture shows a group of women, members of a Communist China commune, operating a blast furnace in the much publicized iron and steel project. This and the picture on the opposite page are reproduced from a late 1958 issue of "China Pictorial," published in Peking, Communist China.



This picture and that on the opposite page show what is meant by the mobilization of millions of Chinese in the communes on the Chinese mainland in production of iron and steel. The picture above shows "blast furnaces" under construction. The furnaces are about the size of a blacksmith's forge.

Senator KEATING. Who are the masters?

Mr. HUNTER. The power-mad, power-motivated top hierarchy of the Communist Party of China, as part of the international Communist movement. They run the whole, mad enterprise. Labor in China today has only the pretense of a wage. Chinese Communist publications are full of references to presumed appeals by the workers that they work all night as well as all day, that they work without pay, that money is a capitalistic appendage which a good, patriotic Chinese scorns.

You can imagine the advantages this provides in economic warfare, which is a main objective. It is what the Red hierarchy hopes to gain by brainwashing, insectivizing the whole nation—

Mr. SOURWINE. You said insectivizing?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, making a person into the so-called new Soviet man, a Pavlovian conception that he himself would have opposed. It puts man on the level of the spider and the ant, instinctively obedient to orders.

The slave laborer, cruelly exploited this way, provides the resources in trade with which to wage debilitating economic warfare against countries not in the Communist bloc, in as ruthless a way as the Communist Party of China exports heroin and opium in order to corrode the character of peoples abroad, including those in the United States. Virtually all these drugs come from Red China. Its trade would similarly debase our working standards.

It is impossible for America's working standards, for the achievements we have so painfully obtained through the farsightedness of labor and management, for our whole conception of the individual possessing inherent rights to be maintained against a competition which uses exports as weapons of war thus sold without any relationship to their cost in money or blood. Other countries in Asia have already been alarmed and hurt by this. The slave-labor status of the Chinese cripples our aid program in Asia. We are diverting possibly the larger amount of our aid money to Asia. It is going into a bottomless pit, so long as slave labor can be made to compete with it—it is a system which, if we sit back and make believe it does not exist, cannot help but destroy us.

Senator KEATING. Well, now, it is somewhat outside of the province of this committee, but what is the answer to that, as it affects us? Should we give up, throw up our hands, and stop all aid to Asia?

Mr. HUNTER. No. I believe, first of all, from my knowledge of Asians, that we have to face up to these realities and act accordingly, which we have not been doing.

In this connection, I would like to describe two other basic Communist approaches which we make believe do not exist, but which make an impossibility of anything we attempt in aid or negotiations.

We cannot understand the communes, we cannot understand anything the Communists do, without understanding those two points. One is what I call a code language. We talk of semantics, and assume that we understand what it means, but Communist code language is much more than semantics. The Reds use a code as a language. It is as if the Senator went to the telegraph office and selected a telegram which consisted of the letters "HBYDA," meaning "Happy birthday to you, dear auntie." The Communists use just as much of a code,

only much improved and greatly simplified. They use the same words as in everyday language, only with contrasting differences. They have a key to this code. There is no concealment of it. The Communists proclaim it just as widely as Hitler proclaimed his program. The key is in their dialectical materialism. The study of dialectical materialism, which is a prolonged affair, provides the definitions for these code words. One example is "peace." The word "peace" has a literal meaning under communism. It means a state of affairs under which there is no opposition any longer to communism. That is "peace"; that, and only that.

Senator KEATING. So when a Communist uses the word "peace," and proclaims that there should be peace in the world, as they do so frequently, that is the peace they are talking about?

Mr. HUNTER. That is the only peace they mean, and our failure to admit it foredooms our diplomats and our intelligence officers, who insist in writing as if the Reds were employing our dictionary as we use it in America—

Senator KEATING. In other words, there is no meeting of independent minds. When we talk about what the Communists are talking about, we are not talking about the same thing at all?

Mr. HUNTER. We and the Communists are in fact speaking two different languages. The only way one can deal with Chinese Communists, or Communists anywhere, in writing a treaty or any agreement, would be to proceed exactly as if we were speaking two languages, and to have a clause in the treaty or agreement specifying that "the words contained herein are defined as found in Webster's dictionary," or "as interpreted under dialectical materialism."

That is because we are dealing with two languages, and it is the only way the words can be defined.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser recently complained bitterly that Khrushchev had fooled him. Khrushchev had made an agreement of nonintervention. Nasser was wrong. Khrushchev had made the agreement, but what Khrushchev had agreed to was noninterference as Communists understand it.

Adlai Stevenson had the word explained to him by Khrushchev himself, when he visited Moscow not long ago. He tells about it in an article he wrote for the U.S. News & World Report of September 5, 1958. Noninterference, as Khrushchev explained to Stevenson, means not interfering with Communist activity or expansion. Mr. Stevenson learned that Khrushchev meant this for outside of the Communist bloc the same as inside, just as much in the United States as anywhere else.

When Mr. Stevenson asked what about Communist noninterference with free world activities elsewhere, Khrushchev brushed that off at once, saying that was not the word, that was not the meaning.

Stevenson should have known this. Nasser certainly is experienced enough to have known it. Khrushchev didn't break any agreement. He agreed to noninterference, which means noninterference with communism. He did not interfere with communism in Egypt, he helped it along. That was what he meant all along.

And when we go to the summit conference, we are going to be taken for a ride exactly as we were taken for a ride at the Geneva Conference—a woeful ride then—unless we stop making believe that the

Chinese Communists do not have, that the Communist world does not have, a code language of its own.

Senator KEATING. So that we should carry our dictionaries with us and let them bring theirs, and then, in any agreement that we enter into, describe each word according to the basic document?

Mr. HUNTER. Exactly as an agreement between a French and a Spanish group, translated into their two languages. Yes, that's the only way.

That is one of the two points I want to bring out, and I cannot stress it too strongly, because all our misconceptions and blunders at the United Nations, and everywhere else in dealing with the Reds, are due to our persistence, our stubborn persistence, in making believe they are speaking American English, or English English, and not Communist English.

This is the first time I ever used that description; yes, the best way to describe it is as Communist English.

Senator KEATING. So that when they use the English language, they use it with a meaning attributed to the English words according to the Communist doctrine?

Mr. HUNTER. Exactly. It is in their way of speaking, as with the word "aggression." Aggression to them means an attack on communism. It does not mean a Communist attack on the free world. That is not aggression.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does freedom mean?

Mr. HUNTER. Freedom under communism means the privilege of following the laws of dialectical materialism. And that brings me to my second point, which must be explained, too, before we can understand what the Communists say about the communes, or anything else. Instruction in this, along with the code language, should be obligatory for every person we send abroad as an intelligence officer, analyst or diplomat, and surely, if I may make the suggestion, should be understood by our Members of Congress. This second point is dialectical materialism. The Communists have gotten away with it because they make it so complicated that it usually takes days to explain, and by that time everybody is in a coma. But I think I can give a capsule description of it, which will be accurate.

Dialectical materialism is the Communist science of existence, which teaches that everything in the universe, not only in our world, is in a state of constant flux, constant change, except for one thing, only one thing that doesn't change, which is Communist line. Of course, once we boil this down, simply, into this paragraph, we find that far from being scientific, which the Communists say it is, dialectical materialism is sheer mysticism, mysticism of the most ridiculous sort, a quack religion. But it is the basis for all the brainwashing; it is the excuse for the horrible crimes committed against the Americans made prisoners in Korea.

It is the basis for the horrible crimes committed by the Communists against American civilians made prisoners on the soil of China, too, and in Europe. When dialectical materialism is imposed as the only true standard, it wholly eliminates our standard of what is true and what is false, what is good and what is bad.

Once a man is lured or forced through the brainwashing process, he tacitly at least accepts this as a science, agreeing that everything is in

constant flux in the universe except Communist line, and then obviously he can easily be made to employ a new standard for judgment of what takes place. A lie then is something which is not true to the Communist line. What is true, then, is something in accord with Communist line. And what is good or what is bad is judged only by whether it is good or bad for communism.

Hence, when the American soldiers were pressurized in Korea into admitting germ warfare, that was true, under dialectical materialism. Once one understands this mad logic called dialectical materialism and the code language that the Reds use on its behalf, any thought of remaining neutral regarding it is suicidal. It is impossible to coexist with such evil.

The two biggest lies that have ever been perpetrated by any government are those of Communist China, which it still maintains, the vicious lie of germ warfare, and the blasphemous lie that the nuns from America and Canada who staffed the orphanages in China systematically cracked the skulls of little babies and buried the smashed bodies in deep pits.

If you accept dialectical materialism, those accusations are true and good.

Well—and this cannot be denied, for the facts cannot be refuted—once this point is understood, any idea of sitting down and negotiating when that sort of a mad conception is adhered to, or compromising with it, becomes utterly impossible.

That is why we are making believe, exactly as we made believe, at the time of the Korean war, that the Chinese armies were not in Korea; because the true facts did not fit into State Department policy, and into our general policy—our wishful thinking.

We are making believe that this code language does not exist, and that dialectical materialism, which utterly changes all standards, does not exist either. Yet both must be understood before the communes can be understood, before anything that the Communists do can be understood. Before one can understand the United States, one would have to understand the spirit of the American Constitution, and our religious professions; and one must also understand how we use our dictionaries.

It is as simple as that.

Senator KEATING. Do your sources give you any information about the problem of religion in Communist China, and what effect, if any, the commune system has had on it.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; I have a great deal of material on religion. It has been building up over a period of years. When I did my book, "The Story of Mary Liu," I gathered a tremendous amount of material on religion in China, and have been keeping it up ever since.

One of the byproducts of the communes is, in the Communist way of expressing it, the solution of the religious question. There is no room or time in the communes for religion. The organization simply crowds it out. Even before the communes, Red China had perpetrated one of its most artful hoaxes in the field of religion. The Communists say there must be freedom and equality in religion, which sounds fair enough, to our way of thinking. The Reds say that a priest, minister, monk, or mullah—Communist oppression is imposed indiscriminately on all religions—should have no privileges that other

members of society do not possess. All of which sounds fair. Why should a minister have privileges not enjoyed by an educator, or an engineer, or even a military officer? But how does it work out? It works out in their usual upside-down manner.

Before anyone can obtain a diploma as an engineer or educator, or qualify for any profession, he first has to pass his tests in dialectical materialism. This is only being patriotic, it is explained. But here is how it works out. Dialectical materialism teaches atheism. Therefore, in the new seminaries of Communist China, in the "independent" Catholic church that they have tried to set up, and in their so-called reformed Protestant denominations, students have to qualify as atheists, by passing tests in dialectical materialism, before they are allowed to go out and teach religion. This is inferentially admitted in the Communist publications. The Communists regard the role of the church in China as helping dig its own grave. They have, with tremendous justification, the utmost contempt for our capacity to see through such tactics and for our willingness to stand up for our convictions, and not sell out when the dollar bill is waved at a labor or business leader. They believe, in exactly those words, that we can be bribed into digging our own grave. The role given religion is to operate as a political arm of the party, to subtly facilitate the spread of atheistic doctrines, and to ultimately replace religion by the quack faith of dialectical materialism. In all respects, this already operates as the obligatory, state religion.

Senator KEATING. And this is, you say, obligatory?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes.

Senator KEATING. They don't profess to force a religion on the people, do they?

Mr. HUNTER. The word Mao Tse-tung and the other Communist ideologists use in China is "persuasion." The "persuasion" tactic is the Chinese Communist contribution to Red ideology. Stalin was more impatient; he just killed off the whole sectors of the population that failed to be quickly enough convinced of the righteousness of Communist logic. The Chinese Communists depend more on brain-washing. They attempt more vigorously to persuade people to see things the way the Communist hierarchy desires.

This word "persuasion," though, does not mean ordinary verbal persuasion, any more than their word "learning" means just learning. They have a new meaning for learning, and write it differently. There is learning, as we know it; and then there is learning which refers only to political education, which is pro-Marxist. Persuasion, in its political sense in China embraces every pressure known to man, every type of flattery, bribery, force, threat, cajolery, torture, and subjection.

"Reform by labor" is a part of this persuasion. Its victims are sent to state farms, actually prison camps, now also merged with the communes. They refer to it, too, as "reeducation." All of it is the slave labor that directly threatens American labor standards. It already has seriously crippled Japan's effort to get back on its own feet by exporting to other countries of Asia in the normal manner.

Senator KEATING. That is, the slave-produced goods being exported from Communist China in competition with Japan-produced goods enables them to very greatly undersell the Japanese. Even



though Japan's wage standards may not be high, Chinese slave labor can undersell them. Is that what you mean?

Mr. HUNTER. Utterly so. In fact, the Chinese Communists don't conceal this objective. They have plainly told the Japanese that unless they throw over their collaboration with the United States, and collaborate instead with the so-called People's Democracies, Red China's economic warfare will hurl Japan to its knees. In places such as Malaya, this strategic phase of Red China's trade is very frank. The Chinese Communist trading agents deal on a discriminatory basis with traders who play ball with them politically. They help spread the impression, which is one of the greatest assets of Communism everywhere, that the Reds stand by the people who help them, and fight their enemies uncompromisingly. I have seen evidence of this throughout the world. While we encourage people to go out on a limb for our principles, the impression is that as soon as there is any trouble, we take refuge in the doctrine of noninterference. We have been made to appear, certainly in Asia, as people who let others down and even betray them when they get into trouble defending the same principles we proclaim.

Senator KEATING. Whereas they use their trade policy in Asian countries as an instrument of their own foreign power?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; and as an instrument of more than foreign policy; as an instrument of war.

Senator KEATING. An instrument whereby they seek in other countries in the Far East to bring adherence to their political viewpoint.

Mr. HUNTER. Completely, so as to destroy the economic fabric of those countries and make the American aid program a failure. Malaya and Singapore, for instance, have been forced for the first time in their histories to impose restrictions and tariffs on shipments of certain textiles and other goods from Communist China. Red trade agents discriminate between businessmen according to their willingness to help the Communists; in other words, their willingness to be traitors in their own country, and set their price scales accordingly. Finished textiles, such as dresses and sarongs, are sold to collaborators below the original price of just the material. A dress is used like a bullet in Communist psychological warfare. Trade is a weapon, exactly as religion or anything else under communism. They refer to it as a weapon. The unhappy victims of this war are, first of all, their own people.

The secondary target of this war is the United States. Anti-Americanism is an integral part of Communist doctrine in China. Chinese communism imposes the obligation to keep hate for the United States within one's perspective at all times. That our democratic society must be overthrown is written into important documents in Red China.

Senator KEATING. What kind of documents?

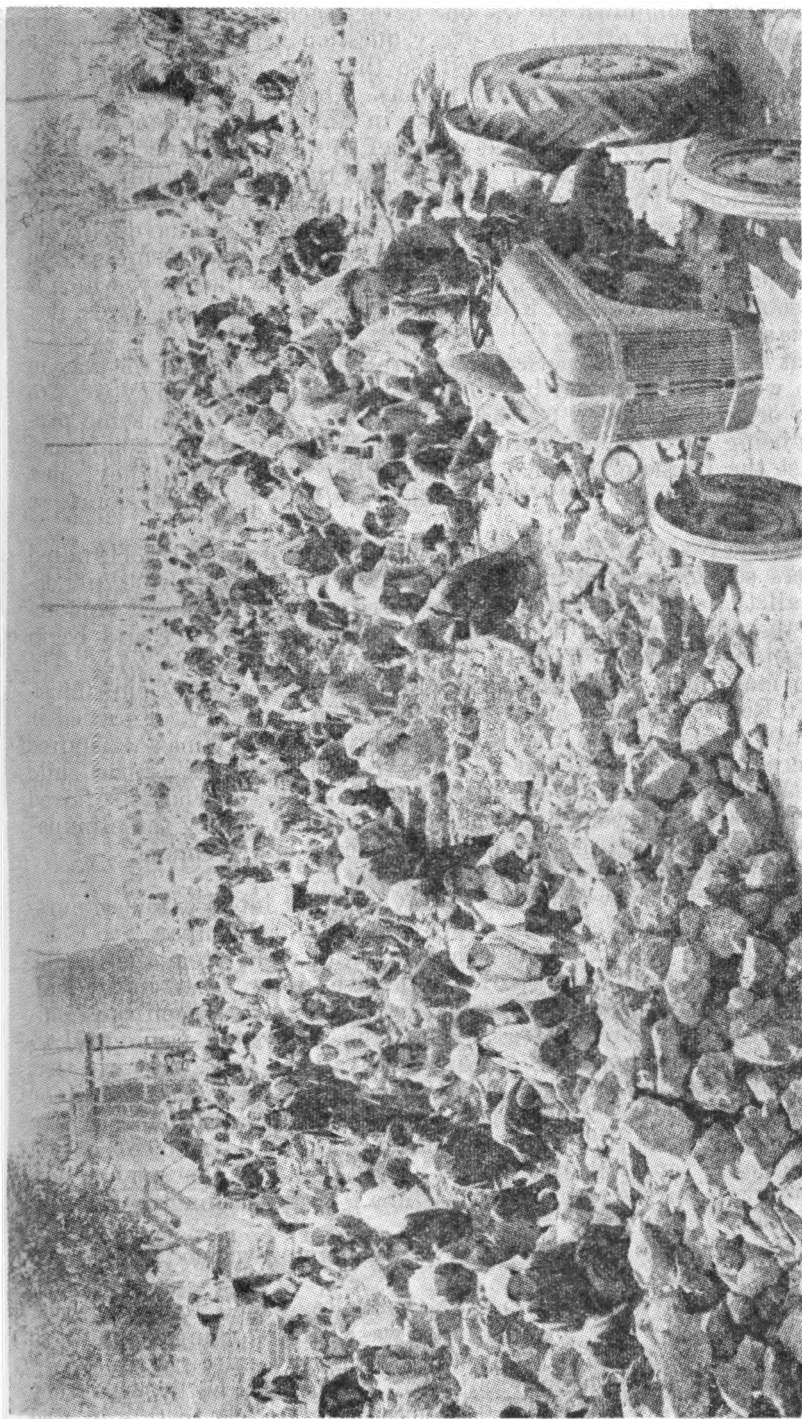
Mr. HUNTER. I believe it even is in the preamble of the so-called Chinese Communist constitution. Practically all decrees issued by the party or the Government contain references to this obligation.

The second paragraph in the preamble to the constitution, adopted on September 20, 1954, reads:

From the founding of the People's Republic of China to the completion of the Socialist Society there is a transitional period. The general mission of the State during the transitional period is to carry out step by step the Socialist industrialization of the State and the Socialist reconstruction with regard to agricultural handicraft industry and the capitalist industry and commerce. The people of our country have during the past years successfully carried out such large-scale struggles as the land reform system, the anti-America aid-Korea movement, the suppression of counterrevolutionary elements, and the recovery of national economy. This has prepared the prerequisite condition for the systematic carrying out of economic construction and the gradual transition to the Socialist Society.

Senator KEATING. Are the people in these communes forced, or "persuaded," as you put it, to attend political meetings?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. Part of the brainwashing process is intended to deprive the Chinese of all individuality. Part of the technique is to give them no time to stop and think about their unhappy plight, or to think up ways to fight the regime. These "learning" sessions are wholly uneconomic and wasteful. After they force workers to spend a fantastic number of hours at the job, when economically the only sensible thing to do would be to let a man or woman have some sleep, they have to go out to "study meetings" and spend additional, mind-numbing hours at them. The objective is to keep the mind always in a fog. That is the trick in all brainwashing techniques. It was used consistently against our men captured in Korea. It is the objective of Communist policy abroad. The softening-up process does not need to use the word communism, but encourages an approach that is called liberal, but which is distinctly not liberal. Under this technique, as



This picture, reproduced from a late 1958 issue of "China Pictorial" of Peiping, Communist China, is described by the magazine thus:  
"Members of the Red Flag People's commune pulverize ore in Pusi County, Honan Province."

used in non-Communist circles, one never reaches a conclusion. The pretense of seeing all sides to every question artificially prevents a decision from ever being reached, so that one becomes utterly befuddled and deprived of all convictions. Once a man, and he can be a Chinese Communist or an American in China, or a prisoner of war of the Chinese, is thus deprived of belief in what he formerly held to be true, and loses his sense of loyalty, then the Reds suddenly change their position. Then they say, "Come to us," and they give him Red convictions, something at least to believe in. He doesn't have to think. They have an answer for everything. A man who has been deprived of convictions and standards, rather than continue that way, which is against nature, will accept a quack faith, and criminal standards, just to have something to cling to.

That is how we in America are falling into a trap, and the way in which we softened up our boys for brainwashing before they went to Korea or were captured by the Communists. This is the same program being used on the mainland of China and in the communes against the Chinese people. They can have no leisure; they must "learn" and "study" until their minds are in a perpetual comatose state.

Until the revolt against communism in Hungary and the Hundred Flowers self-expression movement in Red China revealed that, despite all the subtleties and pressures used, the people hated communism, the policy was to take children when of school age and begin their indoctrination. They now realize that was too late. The young man, even if all the schooling he ever got was Communist, fought Red tanks with his bare hands, as in Hungary, or joined in demonstrations against the Red ideology, as in China's Hundred Flowers movement. So the Red hierarchy is now taking the child from the cradle. That is one of the main purposes of what is referred to as liberation of women by the communes—in reality the elimination of the family, so the child can be taken at cradle time.

Senator KEATING. Away from the family?

Mr. HUNTER. Away from the family, and put into Pavlovian nurseries. It is very crudely done in Red China, when compared to Communist Russia. The intent is that the child, right from the cradle, thinks of itself only as part of a collective, never as an individual.

I was told about this, too, by someone who recently came from Communist Russia, where he traveled all the way from Leningrad to Tashkent, visiting hospitals and nurseries all the way. He said that in each of these nurseries, the rule was that no child was picked up or dealt with in any way unless all the others were treated the same way at the same time, so right from babyhood, it would have no conception of being a person apart from all others. This evil concept has now been adapted for the communes of China. Brainwashing now begins in the cradle.

Senator KEATING. So the effect of the commune system is to destroy the family unit.

Mr. HUNTER. Certainly, the first pretense, which fooled a great number of people here and in China, was that communism sought to eliminate the excesses of the antiquated Chinese family system. Now the family as such is being eliminated, being replaced by what they call the big family. There are plenty of references to this in Red

documentation. For instance, an article in the Architectural Bulletin of October 30, 1958, tells of the big family in one district of Tientsin. Men and women were organized into a work battalion, constituting "a Socialist big family." The article went on:

The scattered family life was changed into a collective life with each and all working, living, studying, and playing together and with each and all having jobs to do. Each family was engaged in production. There was no idler.

Picture this, without the doubletalk, in actual living conditions.

References to this "big family" sound almost mystical, but when the lofty words in the Communist statements are translated into daily life, "big family" means simply no family at all; it means the commune, which, in turn, means the Communist Party.

Senator KEATING. How do they propose to perpetuate the human race?

Mr. HUNTER. Through the dormitory system. Husband and wife are given permission to meet at stated intervals. Of course it is a system that cannot work, it is mad—

Senator KEATING. Do they seek to destroy the entire concept of marriage?

Mr. HUNTER. They seek to destroy marriage as we know it, a coming together of two human beings who produce a family and work and live together for the future.

Senator KEATING. It so happens that I have to be on the floor at 12 o'clock or shortly thereafter, and I think we will have to suspend at this time.

Mr. Sourwine, what is your suggestion?

Mr. SOURWINE.. Perhaps 2 o'clock.

Senator KEATING. I cannot be back here personally by then. I cannot be back until 3, and I don't know of any one else—I am interested in this. I would like to hear it. Will that be convenient for you?

Mr. HUNTER. Any hour you set will be convenient for me.

Senator KEATING. We will stand adjourned until 3 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at 3 o'clock the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator KEATING (presiding). The subcommittee will come to order.

I apologize for the delay but I was unavoidably detained.

Mr. Hunter, let us continue now. There was one phase of your testimony this morning which I would like to pursue for a moment because either the answer was not satisfactorily given or at least your position on it didn't sink into my consciousness. It had to do with the effect of what you have had to say on the foreign policy which we should pursue in the Far East. I put the question to you, as I remember it, when you were talking about the ineffectiveness of our aid program in the Far East in the light of what was going on in Communist China. I put the question to you: Should we stop aid in the Far East? I think you indicated that was not, in your opinion, the answer. Would you enlarge on that? What is the answer? If what you say is accurate, is our aid doing any good in the Far East?

Mr. HUNTER. It is not a matter of aid, but how it is being used, or rather how it is being manipulated. The communes have now sharp-

ened this whole problem by countering American aid to Asian countries with impossible competition created by their slave labor.

If we attempt to meet it, we depress our own labor standards, and try to fill a bottomless pit with our aid.

There is another alternative. To follow a policy which I think is historic with the United States, in the best American tradition, which is to be true to our friends, to help those on our side, not to let a friend down when he gets into trouble. We could be true to this tradition by directing our aid into channels that are beneficial only to the free world and our own side. I mean private enterprise, for instance.

The government-to-government procedure, as it works out, often cannot be distinguished from socialism. I know persons—private individuals in Asia, everywhere from Malaya and Hong Kong to Japan and Afghanistan—who believe in private enterprise and have wonderful accomplishments, achieved with very little or at great handicap. We turn them away. We refuse to have anything to do with them. We tell them they have to go through government-to-government channels.

I have had leaders in various countries say to me, "What are your people trying to do? Do you want us to be Communist?"

A member of the royal family in Afghanistan said that to me a short time ago.

All through Asia we have that situation and it is being cleverly exploited by the Peiping-Moscow axis.

The slave-labor economy that is the basis for the dumping by Red China in the various countries of Asia which are striving to be free is intended to freeze out the Japanese. That is the purpose, deliberately stated.

American policy should be not to abandon friends, but to recognize an ally as an ally, and an enemy as an enemy.

Only a few days ago, I reread a wonderful statement by no other than George Washington. We remember his words about not being involved in entangling alliances, but not this. It reads:

"\* \* \* let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing agreements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy."

That, too, came from George Washington's Farewell Address.

Communist strategy against us is amply explained by their own words. They believe that we can be easily led into digging our own graves.

For instance, a widely quoted editorial in the Chinese Communist publication Red Flag, of September 16, 1958, includes this sentence:

History assigns a tragic role to all the imperialist reactionaries; they are destined to work hard to create their own gravediggers.

Senator KEATING. To get down more specifically to a recommendation, do I understand you to feel that such aid as we render in the Far Eastern countries which are friendly to us should be directed to assistance to private enterprise in those countries and, perhaps, incidentally, to private enterprise in this country, developed in those countries, rather than as aid from government to government?

Mr. HUNTER. Of course, that is one unavoidable premise.

Senator KEATING. You feel that aid from government to government in, let us say, Malaya, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Japan, and other Far Eastern areas is ineffectual to a large extent?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, indeed. I can think of a 5-year plan in at least one Asian country publicized as intended to help destroy capitalism.

Senator KEATING. Publicized by whom?

Mr. HUNTER. By the Indian Government.

Senator KEATING. In other words—

Mr. HUNTER. When I was there the Indian newspapers frankly stated that it would prove the failure of capitalism, and victory for what was called the road to socialism. The articles boasted, in almost of the same words I've just read to you, that our big bankers and our big industrialists could easily be induced to dig their own graves.

Senator KEATING. I am afraid it is very interesting, but I got a little bit outside of the province of our own committee. But I think you have given some interesting evidence which might well be turned over to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

What is the attitude, so far as you know, of the Chinese people, that is, on the mainland of China, toward these communes?

Mr. HUNTER. They hate it. The evidence of their hatred is to be found in the increasing amount of controls imposed on them, and by the manner in which Red army leaders were brought in. Whereas the party almost wholly replaced the Government when the communes were started, the army is now sharing a role that the party occupied exclusively. In China, you must remember, the core of the Red army and the party, because of the way in which the Communist revolution developed, are in effect one and the same. This really means that the party is becoming more and more militarized again.

Senator KEATING. That is, the army there is all or nearly all party members, is that right?

Mr. HUNTER. The leading military figures are party people. They are the revolutionaries. As regards making the country an armed camp, the new theoretical journal, "Red Flag," put out by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, said on September 1, 1958:

It is only natural that the whole population should be citizen soldiers ready to cope with the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys. Although the organization of agricultural labor along military lines at present is for waging battles against nature and not against human enemies, it is nonetheless not difficult to transform one kind of struggle into another.

And what they mean by "imperialist aggressors" and "reactionaries" I explained this morning. In the prisoner-of-war camps in North Korea, "reactionaries" were men who insisted on remaining loyal to their country.

We have evidence of that Red policy in Mao Tse-tung's series of declarations in which he refers to America as a paper tiger. He points out plainly how he expects the United States to be defeated.

Senator KEATING. What is the date of this?

Mr. HUNTER. Significantly, all the bellicose references by Mao Tse-tung to the United States were gathered together as recently as October 27, 1958, and put out as a supplement to the magazine, "China Reconstructs." Incidentally, an American renegade helps edit it.

Senator KEATING. We had some evidence here with regard to that magazine, did we not? Is that the magazine we had evidence on?

**Mr. SOURWINE.** Yes, it is.

**Mr. HUNTER.** In deciphering or analyzing Communist documents, the chief paragraph is often hidden within reams of subterfuge. But among these quotations from Mao Tse-tung, again and again we find paragraphs of this sort:

The U.S. reactionaries will one day find themselves opposed by the people throughout the world—

and in another paragraph:

The American people should rise to resist the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries, and I believe they will.

When we translate this from Communist language, "reactionaries" means Americans who are loyal to their country. And "people" has a specific meaning under communism. The word "people," as carefully explained by Mao Tse-tung, does not mean all of the people. It means only some of the people, those favorable to communism. The others are not legal entities, they are nonpersons.

**Senator KEATING.** That is another code word, you mean.

**Mr. HUNTER.** Yes. And when they say "people's democracy," it means "Communist democracy." And when a Soviet delegate stands up in the United Nations and says that the people of Soviet Russia did not want to read Pasternak's book, he was right. He meant the Communists.

Mao's sentence would read, translated into our English:

Loyal Americans will one day find themselves opposed by the pro-Communists throughout the world.

And that second sentence, if we had a translation of it, would read:

The American pro-Communists should rise to resist the attacks of the U.S. loyal populace, and I believe they will.

What is most important about the communes is that they were created in the guerrilla war pattern that Mao Tse-tung employed in seizing the mainland. It is the same strategy. The idea is that any uprising by the Chinese people would find their militia, with Red army chiefs scattered among them, attacking them and any help that came to the mainland.

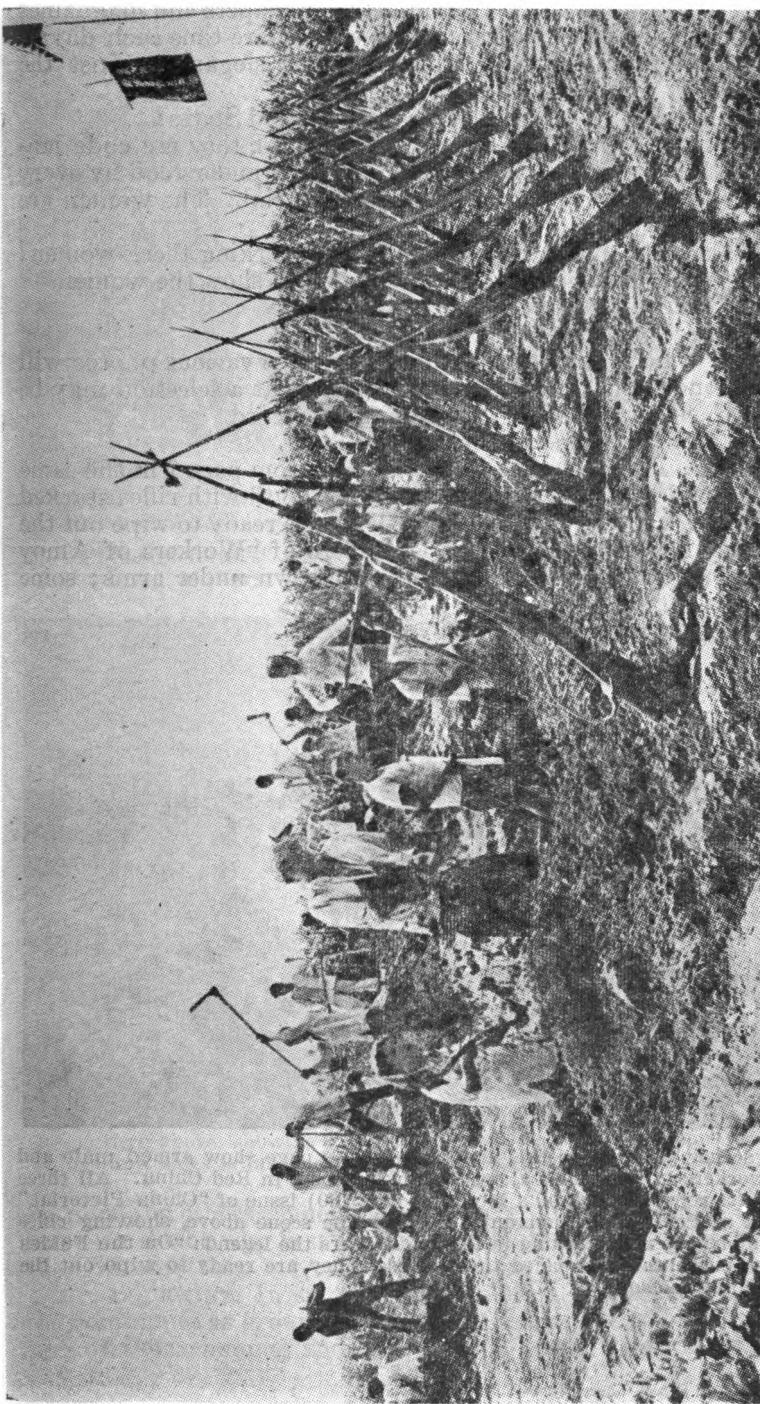
**Senator KEATING.** Mr. Sourwine, would you continue with the questioning?

**Mr. SOURWINE.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You speak of the military aspect of the communes. I wish you would expand on that. I believe you have some photos here showing commune members with their guns stacked nearby. These are in effect citizen soldiers, or, as you said earlier, they are an occupying army in their own country.

**Mr. HUNTER.** Absolutely so. I have a magazine here, "China Pictorial," No. 100 and dated only 1958. Across the top of page 9 is the photo of what is called a production battalion in a commune in Hopei





The picture above, which occupied the top half of a page in "China Pictorial," published in Peking, Red China, was identified by the magazine as "Members of the Hsiehfang Production Battalion of Suicheng People's Commune, Hsushi County, Hopei Province, engaged in deep cultivation." The caption adds that, "in spare time they take up military drill." The picture appeared in a late 1958 issue of the 50-page magazine.

Province. We see farmers and workers laboring in the fields, with their guns stacked alongside. The Chinese newspapers and magazines describe how farmers and workers spend their spare time each day in military training. Maneuvers include specific slogans against the United States.

Senator KEATING. Specifically against the United States?

Mr. HUNTER. Against the United States. Also, they use code language words for the United States which are fully understood by every Chinese, or anyone who reads the Chinese material. The women are trained the same way.

Senator KEATING. Are part of those people working there women?

Mr. HUNTER. I have other pictures, too, which show the women.

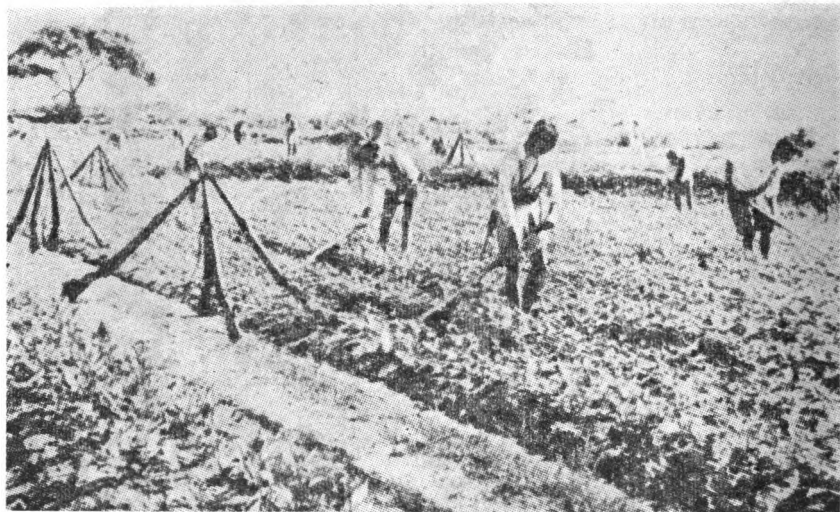
Senator KEATING. Do they bear arms, too?

Mr. HUNTER. Women who bear arms? Yes.

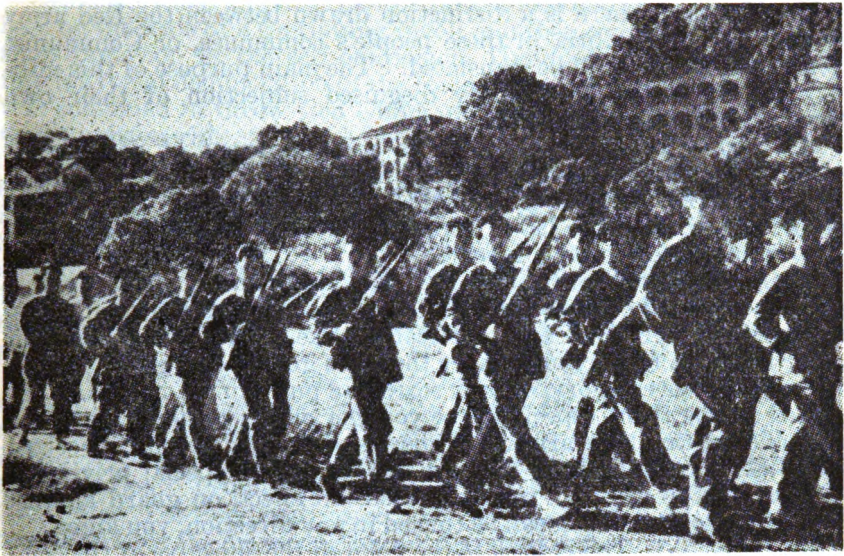
Mr. SOURWINE. As I understand it, all of these various photos will be included under the Chair's previous order, that a selection may be made from them for inclusion in the committee record.

Senator KEATING. It is so understood.

Mr. HUNTER. Here are some more pictures, from page 7 in the same magazine, showing peasants "on the Fukien front" with rifles stacked beside their work. The caption says: "They are ready to wipe out the enemy at any moment." Under it is a photo of "Workers of Amoy under military training." Fishermen are shown under arms; some



The three scenes pictured on this and the opposite page show armed male and female workers in communes along the Fukien coast in Red China. All three pictures are reproduced from a late 1958 (No. 100) issue of "China Pictorial," published at Peking, in Communist China. The scene above, showing rifles stacked alongside men working in the fields, bears the legend: "On the Fukien front, the peasants have armed themselves. They are ready to wipe out the enemy at any moment."



The "China Pictorial's" caption for this picture is: "Workers of Amoy Under Military Training on the Island of Kulangyu."



The picture above, showing a regiment of young men and women in shorts and pajama suits is labeled by China Pictorial: "Fishermen Under Arms."

are men and others women in this picture. Other pictures and articles leave no doubt who is meant by the enemy—Taiwan (Formosa) and the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. In spite of this training, this military training of the communes as groups, there still is a distinction between the members of the communes and the so-called people's militia, is there not?

**Mr. HUNTER.** There is a distinction drawn between the Red army and the people's militia in these people's communes, or Communist communes, as it should be translated. The main purpose of this military control is the very thinly disguised subjection of their own farmers and their own workers.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** In a sense this is a development of new classes within the so-called classless state, is it not?

**Mr. HUNTER.** Yes. It goes further than that. It is the Chinese adaptation of the slave labor camps of Soviet Russia to local conditions and on an all-embracing scale.

The line in China between the man who is a prisoner, literally called a prisoner, and the man who is called a freeman, has practically disappeared. Their lives are practically alike. They work together under the same restrictions, under the same guards and guns. All in the nonprisoner category, of both sexes, are put into the militia. The trusted among them, especially the younger ones, to whom carrying a long rifle is a thrill, are armed. Veterans of the Red revolt that seized the whole mainland about 10 years ago, are given special privileges, and assigned to military training tasks—in effect, on guard against their own people. Rifles can be turned in any direction, you know.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** To get back to the point of the objective of the commune, you have said that they were first measures of control.

**Mr. HUNTER.** First a measure of control.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** Is this a correct summary of what you said, that this control is directed, as an objective, at repressing the resistance which had arisen to the prior regimentation; in other words, they are answering an uprising against regimentation by a more rigid regimentation.

**Mr. HUNTER.** Absolutely. Proof of the hatred for the Communists is found in the increasing scale of the continuing revolt that takes place in Red China. Today's newspapers tell of widespread revolt in Tibet and in the provinces outside Tibet, all on a scale much larger than the Hungarian uprising, and all meeting with the utter apathy of the free world.

The communes were created in response to the chaotic failure of the collectives, politically and productively. Only, instead of meeting the people's dissatisfaction by relaxing these unnatural demands on the individual, the Red hierarchy reacted characteristically by imposing an even more oppressive system. The doubletalk is easy to decipher. On August 18, 1958, the party organ, the People's Daily in Peiping, admitted that the cooperatives "could not meet the requirements" and instead "had become an obstacle."

**Mr. SOURWINE.** This control is the domestic objective. The foreign objective you said is a war measure.

**Mr. HUNTER.** Completely as a war measure.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** And directed against us, you say.

**Mr. HUNTER.** Primarily against us. And I would like to amplify that point.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** Please do so.

**Mr. HUNTER.** Communist China is off balance. The evidence of cracks in communism in Europe, that Hungary's revolt left wide open, after Berlin, Prague, and Poznan split the monolithic Red edifice, had tremendous repercussions all through the Chinese mainland.

Demonstrations and disorders on the Chinese mainland had all along been on the scale of a continuing revolt and then came the spontaneous transformation in the self-expression, Hundred Flowers movement into universal denunciation of the Reds, accompanied by violence. All this combined to throw Red China off balance, along with the whole Communist world.

The strategy that Red China and the Peiping-Moscow Axis generally devised to meet this was to strengthen controls, meanwhile adopting a tactic of putting the Western World, principally the United States, off balance during this dangerous period—putting us off balance by such incidents as took place in the Middle East, the present Berlin crisis and the lingering Quemoy crisis, so that we do not realize the critical situation in the Communist hierarchy, vis-a-vis its own people.

If they can succeed in keeping us off balance for a sufficient time—it need not be a long time—they can utilize this “coexistence” period to complete the cowing and the subjection of their own people, and improve their brainwashing program. An explosion is inevitable in this situation. People cannot live as the Chinese are being forced to live. Mao Tse-tung realizes it. He has shown his strategy as intended to turn the increasing hatred and dissatisfaction of the Chinese people away from their Communist oppressors and against the United States. There is no more bitter hatred than the hatred of a human being for a friend who has let him down, once a person can be convinced that his situation is hopeless. This human trait is the key to Red policy. Indeed, the whole policy of Red China during this period when it is off balance is to tell the Chinese people, exactly as they told the American POW's in North Korea, that “America and the free world generally have deceived you and are untrustworthy. You have no hope.”

Mr. SOURWINE. That it is not the Communists who are oppressing them, but us for allowing the Communists to oppress them, that is the real thought.

Mr. HUNTER. Of course.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there not this difference between the slave labor in Russia, for instance, and the slave labor in the Chinese commune, that in Russia the slave laborer is, at least, condemned through a form of legal prosecution? He is by fiat, perhaps by government decree, quite often unjustly, but nevertheless always by some form of legal decree, classified as a criminal, whereas in China the whole population is made into slave laborers without any condemnation or even the cover of legal prosecution.

Mr. HUNTER. The word “persuasion” that was used this morning best explains the combination of subtle and crude pressures used by the Communist Chinese.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there anything in China today under the commune system comparable to a labor union or to the organization of laborers?

Mr. HUNTER. Red China has what still are called labor unions or labor federations. Like everything else under communism, only the word remains, and the content is absolutely the opposite.

The role of the labor union under the communes, much as it was in the collectivized society, as it was called before, is to increase produc-

tion, to "persuade" the slave laborer to pass resolutions asking for longer working hours, even for the elimination literally or under one or another pretext, of wages, and for the imposition of ever-growing production norms.

Mr. SOURWINE. When an American union leader such as Harry Bridges makes overtures toward a Red Chinese so-called labor union, let us say of dockworkers, he is actually dealing or treating not with a bona fide labor union, not with workers or the representatives of workers, but only with an organized factionalism function of the Communist regime itself.

Mr. HUNTER. He is dealing with an arm of the Communist Party which proclaims itself at war with the United States and the rest of the free world, which declares that the only solution lies in such "struggle"—war.

As evidence of the consistency of this line, in October 1946 Mao Tse-tung explained it to the American pro-Red writer, Anna Louise Strong, as follows:

I think the Asian people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite to repel the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their lackeys in various countries.

The crucial sentence is:

Only victory in this struggle can avert a third world war; it cannot be averted otherwise.

If you translate that into ordinary English from the Communist English you get:

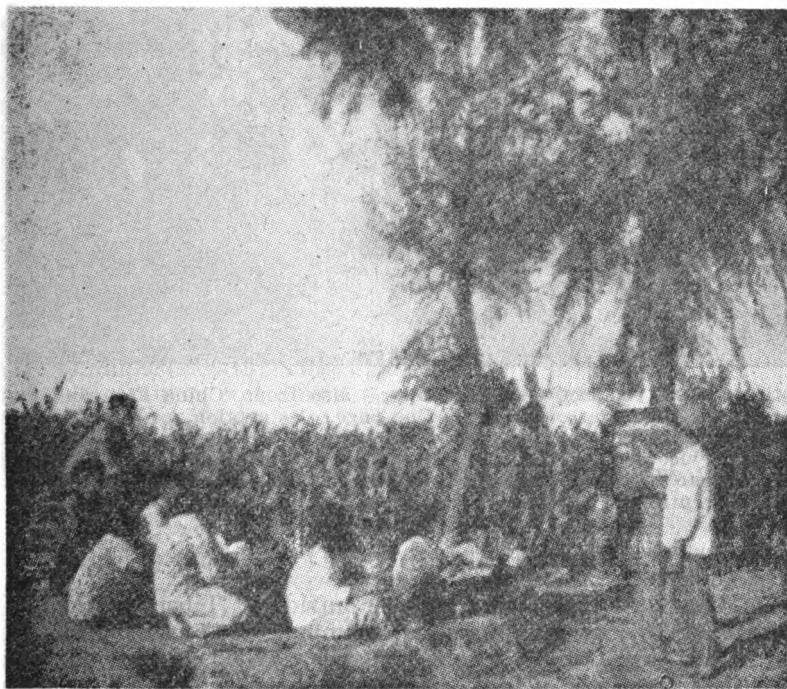
Only victory for world communism can avert a third world war; it cannot be averted otherwise.

Those are the actual words. Significantly, Peking has recently reprinted them—and Anna Louis Strong is back there.

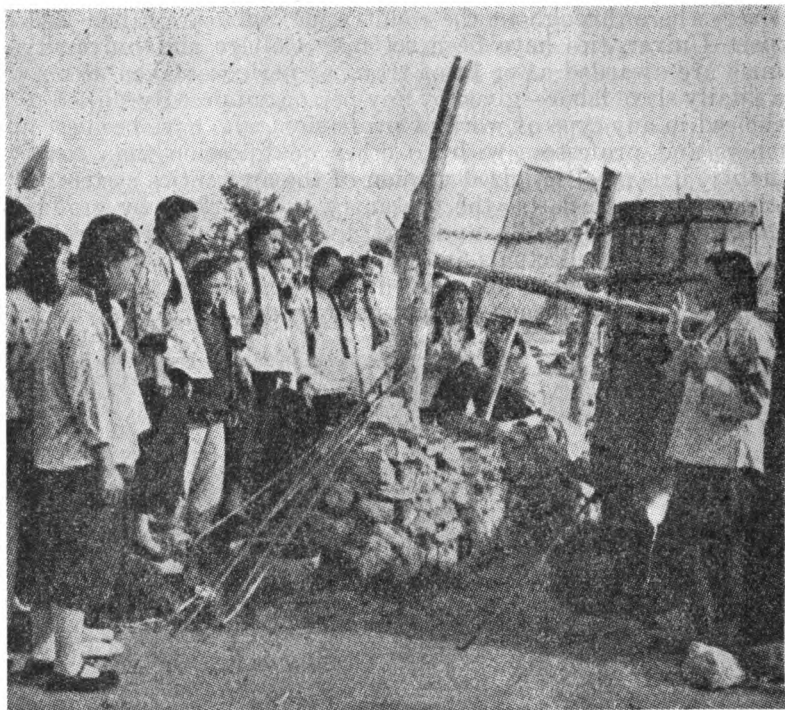
Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about education under the commune system? Is there a system of education?

Mr. HUNTER. Education has been given a new role by the commune. Peking—and Moscow—very well know that instead of the schools developing young men and women who were being brainwashed successfully into becoming what is called the new Soviet man, they were developing people who hated communism with a fiercer, more burning hatred than can be found in any part of the free world. The Red hierarchy has tried, by one fell swoop through the communes to abolish the intellectuals and the writers generally, as a class, and has given to education the function of putting all people on a dreary jack-of-all-trades level. A man now has to know a little of everything, to be a farmer one day, a steel mill worker the next day, an administrator the third, a writer and an actor, too, never really capable in any one profession, never able to really stand on his own feet as a person, incapable of doing anything well on his own, always to depend on collective action. The development of creative minds is in effect banned.

Everywhere throughout the countryside, what are called Red and Expert Universities have been set up. College and university diplomas are awarded after brief training periods—taken along with one's daily slave labor—given by any person supposedly skilled or experienced in any type of work or profession, who have been set up as teachers and professors with no other qualification than that. In actuality, it is a collectivized version of the apprentice system. Part of the intent is to flatter the peasantry and workers by graduating them from diploma mills, and part, too, is to deflate generally, the prestige of the intellectuals and student element, on which the Communist hierarchy had so long leaned for decisive propaganda support, but which has now turned against it.



This picture, one of several, printed in color by "China Pictorial," of Peking, China, was entitled "College Students of Suicheng People's Commune Studying Farm Technique." The "teacher" is pointing toward a blackboard attached to a tree. The issue from which this was reproduced is No. 100, 1958, probably late in the year.



Another typical "college" and "professor," also from "China Pictorial" but a later issue than that on the preceding page. Its caption reads: "The March 8th Iron Mill has its own iron and steel college. Wei Ling-hsiang, head of the mill and vice dean of the college, is lecturing on technology." All students in the photo are girls, some in their early teens, the so-called teacher apparently in her twenties.

**Senator KEATING.** On that point, is everyone in China in a commune, one or another?

**Mr. HUNTER.** Practically everyone outside of Tibet, except in the cities, is technically attached to a commune, except that there is no pattern existing as of today for communes. This is the period during which the Communist hierarchy is seeing how far it can go in creating this control mechanism without the people rising in revolution, and without the people of the United States realizing what is being done or being moved into action of some sort.

Communes in one part of China number several hundred thousand people. Other communes elsewhere number only a few thousand. In one commune, quite a few buildings may have been constructed, including dormitories, for everyone is now supposed to eat together, no longer at home. In other communes almost everything is still in the drafting stage. The dormitory for meals is an open space where one works. The slaves return to their homes to sleep though these are now bare of ovens, pots and pans, and practically everything else that means home. A great show of concession has been made over granting permission to carry home a thermos bottle of hot water. The production of thermos bottles has accordingly risen many fold.

Except for Honan Province, and isolated areas elsewhere, the communes are all in a chaotic state. Thinly veiled allusions to sabotage



are often to be found. There is no doubt of dissatisfaction, expressed in the usual upside-down, Aesopian language. The periodical, *New Construction*, on September 3, 1958, tells of "depraved elements" that "seize every chance to spread rumors," and refers specifically to "sabotage activities," saying these must "be dealt with drastically." A writer in the brainwashing publication, *Study*, on September 10, 1958, admits that the "collectivization of housework will inevitably encounter difficulties and pass through struggle."

The communes can only aggravate the discontent among minority races, as in Sinkiang Province and Inner Mongolia. The Red press contains frequent allusions to the so-called nationalist movement in those areas, and to conditions of actual revolt.

The Communists have created a lure out of the offer of "free" food and other supplies in the communes, exactly as they used private ownership of land as a lure for the peasants while they were fighting the National Government. They are now appealing in the same way to the poorest peasant, with supposedly free food, clothing, medical attention, and other needs. Of course, all this is taken out of their skin. Peking expects a 20 percent greater production out of them, and a far bigger cut of the profits; the 70 percent figure has been used.

The lure of a welfare state, brought to a crazy extreme, must sound attractive in the beginning to those who, under the collectives, were the poorest peasants, for we already saw in the collectives the phenomenon of those with greater talent and initiative living better than the rest—or not as bad. Farmers with more ability, and more alert, were able to make greater use of the very tiny plots of land left to them. The commune takes this away again.

The communes boil down to another big steal by the Reds. The collectives left some private ownership. This is practically gone with the institution of the "all-people ownership system" by the communes, "all-people" meaning Communist Party, and hence "no people," except if the "new class" is meant.

The peasants were originally induced to carry the burden of the Communist revolution by being promised agrarian reform—private property. Then they were lured by stages, concealed in such terminology as "mutual aid teams," into combining these possessions in collectives. They were given shares commensurate with their contributions, and were promised profits on an ever-increasing, cooperative scale. They were led to believe their children would inherit all this. They were induced to work longer and harder. Now, like a croupier sweeping in the winnings from a roulette table, the party has taken it all away from them. They are given no return at all for the little they had, the party agreeing only to record the value of what it has seized, but specifying that no interest is to be even calculated. The squeeze play has gone almost as far as it can without literally classifying everyone as a prisoner or as a slave.

The administrators—the Communist Party activists who were in charge of the collectives—became indistinguishable from the biggest and the worst landowners of the past. They operated as a new, propertied class, the "new class" that is the phenomenon of communism in Europe. They acted irresponsibly and without compassion, because of the insecurity of their situation. A big proportion of these little, Red fish have now been eaten by the big, Red fish. The process is beginning all over again.

Senator KEATING. The reason for the question that I am coming up to is, since you said they were getting rid of the intelligentsia in the communes, I wondered if that meant that there would be no more intelligentsia if everybody was in a commune.

Mr. HUNTER. In China now everybody is supposed to be a writer, everybody is urged to engage in all of the arts, everybody is a dramatist, and those who were writers and dramatists are relegated to the dump heap as a class which does not belong in modern Socialist society.

After the intelligentsia generally showed itself to be anti-Communist professional writers were given an across-the-board 50 percent pay cut, then deprived of royalty payments and other advantages they had enjoyed while they had used their talents to mislead the people. As a class, they now are to be liquidated.

As an immediate retaliation for eagerness with which editors and reporters joined in the denunciations of communism during the Hundred Flowers movement, newspapers, magazines, and publishing houses, first in Shanghai, and then in Peiping, in what became a pattern, slashed the pay of their editorial staffs by half.

Writers had to voluntarily—another code word—express their agreement with these penalties. Three Marxist writers published a joint article in the Chinese Youth Daily on October 4, 1958, saying the slash was justified, and that anyway, most of the 2,000 members of the Chinese Writers' Association were already working at sidelines, with only a few full-time writers left.

Another writer, in the People's Daily of October 24, 1958, wrote that literature had taken a "new road," with a million farmers and workers producing "literature," along with tilling their fields and engaging in small-scale industry, such as mining ore and forging iron and steel. Of course, quality is sacrificed, along with souls.

Many writers and other professionals had already been put under a "reform by labor" regimen in state farms, actually slave labor prison camps. These, too, are supposed to have been merged into the communes. Some must still exist as prison appendages, for commune regulations provide for men and women, who do not conform, being handed over to higher echelons outside the communes for punishment. Failure to produce sufficiently with sufficient show of eagerness makes a commune member liable to such supervision.

As announced by the People's Daily, purely intellectual workers are to be eliminated, too, because "it is not desirable to have a minority of people specialize in studying theories and doing research work." They are guilty of "bourgeois individualism" as a group, and must submit to "ideological remodeling," which is code language for brainwashing.

Senator KEATING. I have to speak to these gentlemen at the door. I will be right back.

Senator Dodd will preside.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do they have a method of solving the population problem in China?

Mr. HUNTER. The population problem is one of the insolubles of China. It is partly responsible for this whole military framework.

An all-out drive for birth control was conducted a couple of years or so ago on a scale never before seen in any country. The publicizing was done as garishly and extensively as cigarette advertising in the United States. But births continued to rise and rise.

Mao Tse-tung, when he went to Moscow for the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in November 1957, referred to the population problem in so alarmingly jingoistic a manner that Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia denounced it publicly when relations became more strained. Mao Tse-tung had told a Yugoslav diplomat in Moscow that even if 300 million Chinese were killed in a war, 300 million would be left.

The Chinese party heads "are against the relaxation of tension in the world," Tito significantly declared in an address at Labin, Austria, on June 15, 1958. He compared them to "the most reactionary warmongering elements in the West," a startling statement by someone also claiming adherence to orthodox communism. "But difficulties in building socialism are not solved by war, even if a country should have 600 million habitants—as some of their people like to point out—saying that in a war, still about 300 million Chinese would be left over."

China's teeming population outpaces production. Peiping obviously is losing that race, even though it uses manpower for stupendous projects that can be done the way the Great Wall of China and the Pyramids were built, by heedless and wasteful use of manpower alone—hundreds and hundreds of thousands, and sometimes millions of people—mobilized into gigantic work gangs to labor under horrible conditions—all day and most of the night, too, under searchlights, in mud and filth. In America, bulldozers would do this work.

Peiping had planned that construction of heavy industry would absorb excess labor, but this was to be built with the exports from Soviet Russia on the basis of credits it was supposed to advance. These have about dried up. "Last year, imports on the basis of past foreign credits were negligible," writes Frank Coe, an American citizen, in the magazine *China Reconstructs* in its January 1959 issue. Instead, the Chinese peasant was put into communes, and it is being taken out in sweat. Coe invoked the fifth amendment, in testimony before the Subcommittee, with regard to his Communist affiliations.

Mr. SOURWINE. Despite the claims of the Chinese Reds—isn't it significant, for huge production increases, their normal exports have in many instances almost dried up? The British are complaining that they are breaking contracts for the shipment of cotton and that sort of thing.

Mr. HUNTER. What is remarkable is not that there has been some increase in production under such circumstances, but that a regime with such totalitarian control over people should have produced so little. What more striking example is needed of the utter bankruptcy of Red methods?

Mr. SOURWINE. What do the communes do, for instance, about such things as funeral services and burials?

Mr. HUNTER. All tradition is being destroyed by the communes, so the Chinese individual has no past and no future, as well as no today worth living. The dead are put into mass graves.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are they marked?

Mr. HUNTER. I suppose people know where the bodies are put.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, the man loses his identity when he is dead.

Mr. HUNTER. He loses whatever identity anyone can have in a commune.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is contrary to the whole Chinese philosophy.

Mr. HUNTER. The bodies of the dead are dug up for fertilizer. The collection of human bones for fertilizer is obligatory.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that a man is not only not allowed any family life—

Mr. HUNTER. He is allowed no past.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is allowed no family connections with his past, and he has no hope of being himself revered as an ancestor.

Mr. HUNTER. That is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is at complete variance with the age-old Chinese system of life, is it not?

Mr. HUNTER. That is among the reasons I consider this as a highly explosive situation. Unless the Red chiefs can convince the people there is no hope from anywhere, that they are all alone, and unless they can bluff the West into believing they are all-powerful, the entire hierarchy will be overthrown. The peasant revolts we read about will spread like a prairie fire and destroy their whole apparatus.

Mr. SOURWINE. What dumping of goods there is from Red China is concentrated in a few areas, is it not?

Mr. HUNTER. Mostly so, although not necessarily.

Mr. SOURWINE. They dump goods in Malaya, do they not?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. The Chinese Reds are adjusting their trade offensive according to the "struggle requirements" in all tense parts of the world, throughout Africa and Asia principally.

Mr. SOURWINE. Particular emphasis is made with reference to Japan?

Mr. HUNTER. The emphasis by Red China is to export to Southeast Asia and India the very things which the Japanese make, such as textiles and porcelains, for which the Japanese would expect to have a tremendous market in all the underprivileged countries.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are not only denying Japan her national markets in the Chinese mainland, they are attempting to undercut the Japanese market elsewhere in Asia. And furthermore, they are actually dumping their materials into the Japanese homeland to depress the industry in Japan, isn't that true?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, indeed. They are including another pressure-export in their trade offensive. Opium and heroin. The biggest drug syndicate in the world today is the Communist Party of China, which smuggles drugs through party branches into Japan, Malaya, Indonesia and other countries. This is borne out by the police records in all those areas.

Indeed, in one case in Japan, the Communist branch was using the profits from Red heroin to propagandize for Japanese recognition of Red China!

Red China is putting Japan under blackmail to force a change in policy, not only to cut itself off from the United States but to join the Soviet bloc in opposition to America.

Here is a full page on Japan in China Pictorial, issue 101. How widely such publications are distributed can be gathered from this list of languages in which this one is printed monthly: Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, Urghur, Korean, English, Russian, German, French, Japanese, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Hindi, Spanish, Arabic, and Burmese. Obviously this is no mere commercial magazine; it is a weapon in the Red Chinese offensive.

The article is entitled: "The Chinese and Japanese Peoples Unite—For a Blow on the Common Enemy." It tells about a delegation from Japan visiting China, and the issue of joint statements on the struggle against U.S. aggression.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us something of the condition of women in the communes in Red China?

Mr. HUNTER. Women have been, in the Communist lingo, "liberated."

Mr. SOURWINE. Which means?

Mr. HUNTER. That they have been lowered to the same status as male slaves.



Here and on the following page are additional pictures illustrating the status of women in the Communist communes. This photo of a typical, sandaled peasant woman squatting in some broken rock and holding a wide-headed hammer, is reproduced from a late 1958 issue of "China Pictorial" of Peking. It was captioned: "Mrs. Chin Hsiu-lan and her family are helping to smelt iron."



Another picture reproduced from "China Pictorial" is described as "Mixing Ore," with the comment that "Many girls from the countryside are now qualified iron workers." Although obviously posed, this picture, as well as others in this group, expose the pathetic inadequacy of this backbreaking labor project.



The cruelty of the speedup pressures, necessary to extract any production at all, may be gaged by the caption placed on this picture by "China Pictorial" from which it is reproduced. It said: "Shen Chiu-hua, 16, builds a crucible in 2½ minutes, twice as fast as her fellow workers."

Mr. SOURWINE. They have, then, complete equal rights?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, which means they have been deprived even of the right to stay at home and tend their babies and cook their meals. They have had to give up their pots and pans to the common kitchen. They have had to give up everything in their homes, even ovens. They have to undergo a dormitory existence, under the same restrictions as their menfolk.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the Congressional Record recently there was inserted by the Senator from Idaho an article written by Dr. Sripati Chandrasekhar which listed 16 alleged guarantees given to all members of the communes.

I would like to take you through those 16 guarantees and ask you which of them, if any, are in fact performed.

The first guarantee is clothing. Under that guarantee, what does a member of a commune get?

Mr. HUNTER. For a time a few years ago, women were allowed once more to dress a little differently than men, to have a bit more colorful material. All this has now ended. They all dress in the same, drabby work clothes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is a guarantee that a member of the commune will be given clothing. What clothing is he given?

Mr. HUNTER. Barely enough for work, to cover his nakedness.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does he get warm boots in winter—does he get gloves?

Mr. HUNTER. He is given, according to the area in which he works, various articles of attire. There is no uniformity in this. This, too, is part of the pressure. The standard is the least possible necessary. Everything is rated according to work done. Certainly nothing is provided that could be called finery.

Mr. SOURWINE. Edmund Vance Cooke said, "You can only wear one tie and one eyeglass in your eye and one coffin when you die."

Mr. HUNTER. The bare substance, I suppose.

Mr. SOURWINE. They have gone beyond that because they don't give them ties, and they don't give them eyeglasses for their eyes and don't give them coffins when they die.

Mr. HUNTER. The offer of "free" clothing, as if the poor Chinese doesn't pay dearly for it, was one of the lures to persuade the impoverished peasants to willingly join the communes. Sometimes the reference is to 5 such "free" supplies, other times 6 or 16 and it is all bait, and sheer survival needs.

Mr. SOURWINE. The second in the 16 guarantees is food. What food are they given?

Mr. HUNTER. Food is woefully lacking. Enough barely to survive. Even the rice which the majority of Chinese have eaten from time immemorial is mostly lacking, replaced by sweet potatoes at every meal. Rice is sent to Soviet Russia, or abroad for political trade.

Food is rationed according to work. Meals are 20 minutes perhaps, in the dormitories, or where the men work. Pictures in these magazines show the workers eating their meals in the fields.

Actually, much less food is being given to the Chinese people under the communes than in the collectives. This is part of the big steal.



"Most of the peasants eat and sleep in the fields," is the revealing legend on this picture as printed in "China Pictorial" (1958), No. 100, from which it is reproduced. So-called dormitories here are seen to be small huts made of straw matting. The propaganda campaign by Red China has publicized the few window-display communes. This is the more typical scene, although even it is obviously posed and much superior to the typical.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** The third guarantee is transportation from residence to place of work. Much of this transportation is by shank's mare, isn't it?

**Mr. HUNTER.** Transportation is largely eliminated by the communes, for individuals live where they work. Transportation is employed chiefly when these labor battalions are sent to jobs far away. Even so, they usually go by shank's mare, as you say.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** If they are workers within walking distance of the commune dormitory they walk, and the walking distance varies.

**Mr. HUNTER.** Even if the project is hundreds of miles away, they often have to walk there, and stay until the job is done.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** And the standard of what is within walking distance is fixed by the Communists?

**Mr. HUNTER.** The party determines everything.





This silhouette of an armed procession is entitled, "Holding a Red flag, the members of the Liu Hu-lan Shock Brigade march toward the iron smelting base." The article thus illustrated tells how members of the brigade worked in heavy rain during the night, and "created a record of earth carrying that was 62 percent above the norm." Such propaganda stunts are well known for raising the labor requirements of the people, and these so-called "model workers" are generally hated. The brigade was given the name of "the revolutionary martyr, Liu Hu-lan, who died rather than submit to the enemy." The picture is reproduced from the January 5, 1959, issue of "China Pictorial," published in Peiping, Communist China.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** The fifth guarantee is maternity benefits. What maternity benefits are given to the women members of the communes?

**Mr. HUNTER.** The woman now has far less opportunity of seeing her husband. She has almost no opportunity—there is no time—to see her children in any normal manner. Even her babies are taken into nurseries, which are more and more to be operated in the Pavlovian way.

Maternity benefits are listed in the rules, but rules are one thing in writing, and another in operation. She is supposed to get a month off when she has a baby. I'm skeptical about that because I know of nothing that the Communists have promised, that they actually give. Maternity benefits boil down to the privilege, when she conceives, of giving birth to her child.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** They do permit that?

**Mr. HUNTER.** So far. But with equal rights to hard labor, I wonder about even that.



"Carrying four baskets on a pole they decide to beat their competitors in the amount of earth they move." This little photo, with the above legend, also published in the January 5, 1959, issue of "China Pictorial," tells the whole story. Notice the two big straw baskets full of dirt. Although, of course, posed, notice the faces. Where labor is put to compete in this primitive fashion, denial of the slave labor status of the Chinese people is cynicism indeed.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next guarantee is sickness leave and free medical aid. To what extent is this guarantee fulfilled?

Mr. HUNTER. The nationwide campaign by the Chinese Communist Party for a revival of ancient medical practices and for wider use of herb medicine certainly indicates that very little medical care is to be expected. One better not get sick.

Mr. SOURWINE. Sickness leave is granted then to those who are truly sick in the opinion of the slave overseer, but the question of how sick you are depends upon the whim of the overseer.

Mr. HUNTER. The communes are run as a military organization, with military terminology used. Anyone who says he is sick has to face up to his superior, as in the army, who asks, "Are you sick enough not to get out into that field—or factory—and work?" Absence for sickness cuts into one's right to free supplies.

There are many references in Chinese papers to the need to guard against sabotage, which includes making believe one is sick. Well, anyone who hasn't a broken leg, or isn't obviously incapacitated, is suspected of malingering.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the penalties for malingering are what?

Mr. HUNTER. You don't eat.

Mr. SOURWINE. And for goldbricking?

Mr. HUNTER. You can be handed over to higher authorities outside for punishment. The basic policy in the communes is not the Marxist maxim of each according to his need, but to each according to his work. This is literally applied. You are supplied the necessities of life according to how much work you have done.

Senator KEATING. That is more like a capitalist concept; isn't it?

Mr. HUNTER. Communism has been winning by using capitalist techniques. And we have been losing by using Socialist techniques.

Senator KEATING. That is a good way to put it.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next guarantee is free old-age care. What free care is given to the aged in the communes?

Mr. HUNTER. Along with these provisions for free old-age care, there is an added provision, for such labor as the old are capable of rendering. The communes are supposed to set up special homes for the aged.

Actually, with communes in most parts of the country in a chaotic state, very little of all of this has been put into practice. The idea is to take the old groups and put them into special dormitories, where they can do a certain amount of work, all that can be obtained from them, and to leave it at that.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Nazis put Jews into special kinds of groups, in work battalions, and worked them as long as they could work and until they died.

Mr. HUNTER. The difference, it seems, is that the Nazis imposed their enslavement and death decrees on those they opposed. They allowed the so-called pure Germans to have a privileged status. Under communism, very few actually benefit from this new system.

Mr. SOURWINE. The light work for the aged actually means as much work as the old man can do, doesn't it?

Mr. HUNTER. Certainly.

Mr. SOURWINE. And isn't there back of these old-age homes a great deal of the same philosophy that was in the work battalions that they put the Jews in, in Germany? That is, work them until they dropped? They are not getting a full day's work out of them—they are not getting as much work per ounce of food; and so they consider it an inefficient thing to attempt to preserve them; they simply work them out and let them drop, and die?

Mr. HUNTER. The attitude toward the old is revealed by some of the peculiar references I have come across of the constant injections given the old and the enfeebled who are not able to work well, until they die.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by injections?

Mr. HUNTER. Supposedly injections against such things as tuberculosis and typhus, but by coincidence, it has been observed that those who are nonproductive quickly die after such an injection.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is in accordance with the best principles of dialectical materialism.

Mr. HUNTER. Of course.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is free funeral and burial.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, they get that.

Mr. SOURWINE. What kind of a funeral does he get? You have talked about his burial. They use his bones for fertilizer.

Mr. HUNTER. If you are out on a labor project, and your wife is somewhere else, and your children are somewhere else again, what sort of a funeral can you get? You are disposed of.

If you happen to be in an area where the communes are still mostly in the drafting stage, people can sabotage the program, and act still somewhat like human beings. But any sort of a decent, ceremonial burial is just as much eliminated as religion generally.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is another factor of long standing of the Chinese life which has been eliminated.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What free education is given to them? That is the next guarantee.

Mr. HUNTER. As I've explained, education has a new role. The man is made into a jack-of-all-trades. He is given a limited training, to become a drone. It will be a society of drones. Instead of professors, the idea is to have party cadres, model workers, labor heroes, or anyone else considered experienced at a job occupy a professor's seat. The aim is to deprive everybody of the sense of being a complete person, not allowing anyone to be truly proficient at anything above a mean level considered necessary for production and war. Out of this soil, the party expects to rear the small core of robot elite it requires, automatons in their political thinking, yet capable of the highest proficiency in assigned scientific or other tasks. Of course, this is a mad concept and won't work.

Mr. SOURWINE. Education is almost itself a code word in communism.

Mr. HUNTER. The establishment of these simple vocational schools and calling them colleges and universities is a calculated strategy to destroy the prestige of the intellectual and to flatter the peasants into believing they really are being given higher education.

Senator KEATING. Are the universities as we know them in Communist China still in existence?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, as the communes have not extended to the cities. The central committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decreed the proletarianization of higher education within 15 years. The communes program was first announced as taking in the entire nation, cities and all, but obviously couldn't, certainly not overnight. In accordance with Communist practice when confronted by such a setback, Peking retreated one step, suspending the program in the cities, awaiting the opportunity to take two steps later on.

Senator KEATING. I see.

Do they let the young people from the communes go to these universities in the cities?

Mr. HUNTER. To a degree. Let me repeat, there is no pattern. The Politburo is seeing what it can get away with. Those who show themselves reliable politically, and sufficiently capable, are enabled to go to the regular colleges and universities in the cities. But the level of these must, of course, be affected by the same leveling out process that is taking place throughout the interior.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that a man can't go to a college for his own purposes—he goes only for the party purposes?

Mr. HUNTER. A student cannot say I will be an engineer—not at all. He is told whether he will be an engineer or not. The party determines everything—everything.

Mr. SOURWINE. If there is instruction in all of the communes, it is primarily political education.

Mr. HUNTER. So-called Red and expert universities and colleges are set up in the communes, out in the fields, in any barracks where anyone who has had experience in shoeing a horse becomes a technician and professor. Of course, he is obliged to continue as an ordinary worker, too. It is the logical, mad conclusion of the proletarianization of education.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** The next guarantee is a marriage grant and a free reception for the couple. To what extent is this rendered?

**Mr. HUNTER.** Now you are referring to guarantees which I haven't seen listed in the Chinese Communist documentation. You mentioned 16 guarantees. The number varies according to the document. Usually five or six are mentioned. When more are listed, to make the lure more inviting, it means these few have been broken down into sections, and then put under separate headings.

The requirements for survival, so you can work like an ant, as a slave laborer, are provided free under the commune system. It is free, of course, only in theory. The commune operates like a feudal state under a ruthless landowner.

A wage and bonus system has been inaugurated. How callously it operates was shown only a few days ago, on March 15, in a Peiping broadcast. It quoted an article in "Red Flag" on the principle of "to each according to his work." The article pointed out that a "rigid rating and flexible appraisal" method of paying wages had been adopted generally.

Under it, a certain amount of money is allotted to a battalion leader as wages for the workers under him. He determines how much, if any, goes to each man or woman.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** This article states that under the so-called bonus system a worker who shows tremendous integrity and ability can win a reward of from 1 to 5 yuan a month. It adds that no one has yet won the maximum award. What is a yuan worth?

**Mr. HUNTER.** A yuan is a Chinese dollar. On the black market, you would get a handful of them for an American dollar. Legally, the exchange rate varies according to what Peiping is trying to buy or attract.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** The mention of marriage grants would appear to indicate that the Chinese Reds encourage marriage. Is this true?

**Mr. HUNTER.** Some sort of gift, varying in each commune, is probably given those who marry. Gifts by individuals are obviously frowned upon as a remnant of individualism. If anyone has anything to give, the party wants it.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** In Roman times under Nero the slaves were commonly paired off for purposes of propagation at the will of the master.

To what extent under the commune system in Red China does a man have freedom of choice as to who his mate will be?

**Mr. HUNTER.** He already was very restricted in his choice before the communes. A party member or activist is certainly under strict restrictions as to whom he may marry.

Political factors had to be considered in anyone's marriage. Under the communes this certainly has not been liberalized. If anything, it has become more restrictive.

What opportunity does the man or woman have for any sort of romantic life? It must be a very dreary escape, at best.

**Senator KEATING.** No time for it, is there? I understand they work from early morning until late at night.

Mr. HUNTER. China Young News, of Peiping, of September 27, 1958, wrote this about the Chaoying commune in Honan province:

At daybreak, bells were rung, and whistles were blown to assemble. In about a quarter of an hour the peasants lined up. At the command of the company and squad commanders, the teams marched into the fields, holding flags. Here one no longer sees peasants in groups of two or three smoking and going slowly and leisurely to the fields. What one hears are sounds of measured steps, and marching songs. The desultory living habits which had been with the peasants for thousands of years are gone forever. How tremendous a change.

To adapt itself to collective labor and collective life, the commune launched a movement for merging villages and moving from one dwelling to another. Peasants in groups carried their luggage and moved to localities near their jobs. Marvelous is this change. Since ancient times, peasants have treasured their homes, left them by their ancestors, above everything else. Now that private plots, houses and part of one's livestock have come under the commune ownership, all the ties that bind the peasant are broken and they feel relaxed. They said: "It makes no difference where we move. Anyway, we are in our Chaoying home." There is nothing left in their own homes for them to long for. The commune is their home.

Mess halls and nurseries are found in villages. All houses are locked with their dwellers gone to the fields and factories. One cannot longer see the phenomenon in which each family cooks and rears its children. The frames of individual families which had existed for thousands of years have been completely smashed.

This description is not from an enemy source, but a boastful picture by the Communists themselves.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next guarantee listed here is 12 free haircuts a year. What kind of haircuts do they get?

Senator KEATING. U.S. Senators get more than that.

Mr. HUNTER. The Chinese style of haircut, I suppose. What kind of haircut do you get in a barracks?

Senator KEATING. A GI haircut.

Mr. SOURWINE. And 20 bath tickets a year is the next guarantee.

Mr. HUNTER. Without homes even where the buildings have been left standing, for the ovens have been taken away, along with such utensils as pots and pans, you cannot have a bath at home any more. I mean a bath in a washbasin. They don't have bathtubs.

Mr. SOURWINE. Doesn't this mention 20 bath tickets? A man cannot even take a bath without getting a ticket or permission?

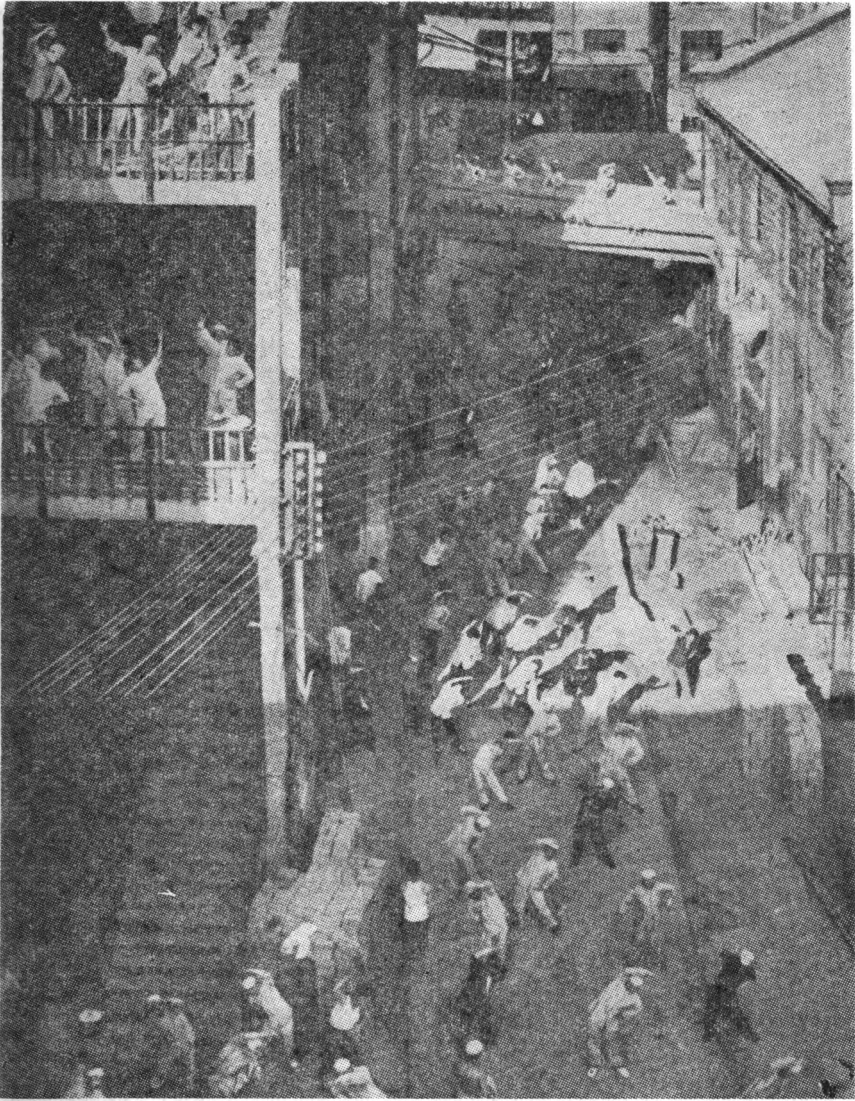
Mr. HUNTER. It is a ticket to the bathhouse.

Senator KEATING. A communal bathhouse?

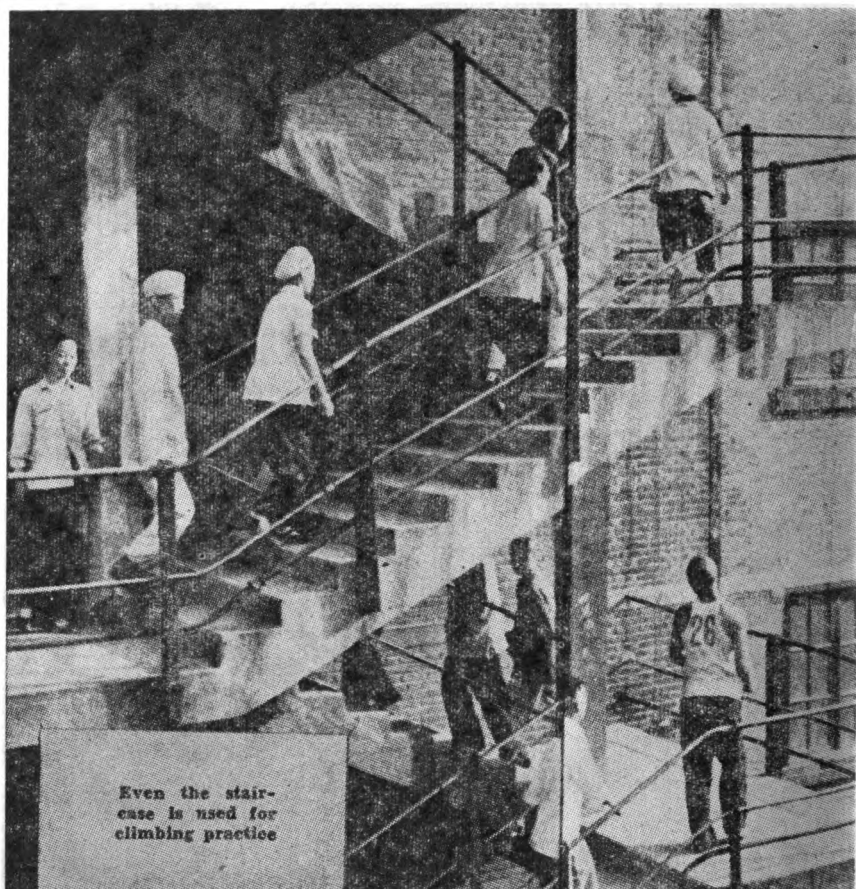
Mr. HUNTER. Yes, a communal bathhouse. The bathhouse is a social place in Asia as in Russia since generations, but under the communes the social part of life has been pretty well eliminated.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next guarantee is free recreation. Doesn't this mean they don't charge for it? But isn't it only such regimented recreation as the leaders of the communes designate and direct?

Mr. HUNTER. Recreation is collectivized, part of what is called collective living, and is part of the program to keep a person's mind occupied at all times. One of the new slogans is "Everyone an athlete." What all this means wouldn't be believed if not seen. Here are photographs from China Pictorial for January 20, 1959. We see a street where the radio has started blaring, and everyone within hearing has stopped and began setting-up exercises.



This is not a staged scene, but from real life. The explanatory legend published by the magazine "China Pictorial" in connection with the picture, reads: As the morning jerks program comes over the radio, the workers of the Tientsin Wool Processing Mill join in, wherever they happen to be." This picture as well as the two following were used to illustrate an article entitled "Everyone an Athlete."



With working hours now admittedly a minimum, usually, of 12 and overtime extending the labor day hours more; with so-called "model workers" forcing a constantly faster pace and with brainwashing study periods occupying other hours, the Communist masters do not dare give the people any time at all in which to think and plot the Red overthrow. The people's minds are kept perpetually fatigued, in a fog. Hence the significant explanation furnished by "China Pictorial" for this photograph: "Even the staircase is used for climbing practice."



Senator KEATING (referring to the picture reproduced on p. 51). That is a photograph?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; it's the photograph of an actual scene. It looks like an eerie scene in a stage play. The truth of the matter is that all of this is like a stage play. The Chinese are the world's greatest actors. They learned how to act through generations of suppression. They are now under greater suppression than ever before, and they are going through their act beautifully. Give them a little opportunity, give them a little evidence that they have friends, and they will show their real selves, and sweep communism away. But not until they feel there is some hope from abroad.

Mr. SOURWINE. They may call it recreation but it isn't recreation as we know it, when everyone has to jump into the jerks at the same time.

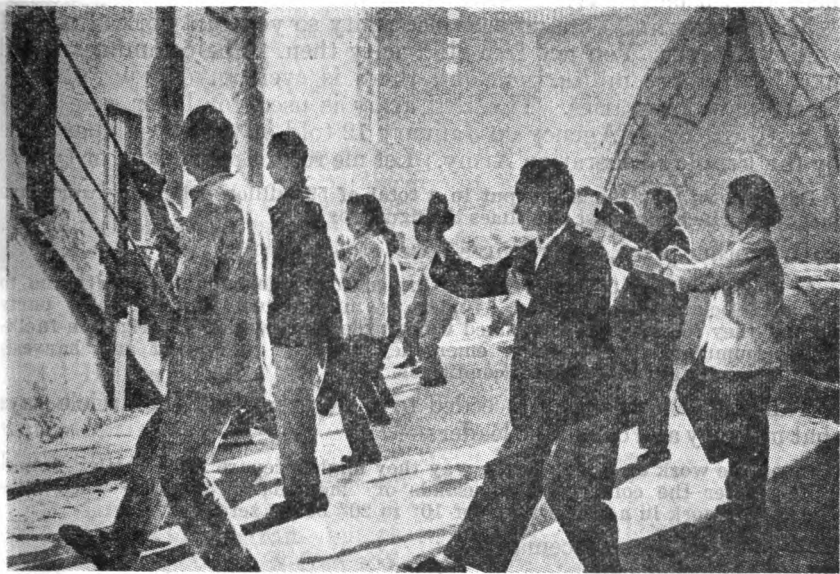
Mr. HUNTER. Of course not; it is indoctrination in regimented responses.

Senator KEATING. Besides, at the side of that is a picture equally significant—pictures of some people going upstairs. And it says, "even the staircase is used for climbing practice."

That is recreation, apparently, to climb the stairs.

Mr. SOURWINE. Recreation, then, is another code word.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes.



"Shadow-boxing is one of the favorite sports," reads this caption on a picture of a street scene, also reproduced from "China Pictorial" of January 1959. The people—women as well as men—are obliged to engage in setting up exercises, shadow boxing, or whatever else the party spokesmen send over the airwaves, as part of the mind-tiring, mind control program. Wherever they happen to be, on the streets or at work, all have to mechanically join in—a "big family" of humans pushed into an ant mold. But the Chinese minds still work—and await their opportunity.

Mr. SOURWINE. The last guarantee was recreation. The next one is free tailoring. How much tailoring is there in the Communist communes?

Mr. HUNTER. When repairs have to be made, the wife no longer has the equipment with which to keep a sleeve from falling off or to put a patch into working clothes. She has to rely on the dormitory tailor.

Mr. SOURWINE. We think of tailoring as going and getting measured for a suit. That is not it?

Mr. HUNTER. No; not any longer. Sewing machines have been collectivized and now communized. Part of the big theft.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tailoring is then another code word for repairs necessary to keep a man's one suit from falling off.

Mr. HUNTER. Often not a suit. Usually an undershirt and shorts, or a shirt and padded trousers.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the final guarantee mentioned here is free electricity. How many of these communes have electricity at all?

Mr. HUNTER. Communist publications are full of programs for installation of electricity in the future, even the far future.

Mr. SOURWINE. But what do they use the electricity for—for night-work in the fields?

Mr. HUNTER. Where you have gigantic work projects out in the field, they usually have electricity.

Mr. SOURWINE. You get free electricity so you can work at night?

Mr. HUNTER. You get free electricity then. The communes could hardly be more militarized, and there is even an obvious plan to create new janissaries. The Red army is used for labor, too. The New China News Agency on January 12 told of the slave labor done by the People's Liberation Army. Let me read a paragraph or two.

Data shows that the Army put in a total of 59 million obligatory workdays last year, which is almost two times the figure for 1957.

In another place, it says three times.

At the beginning of last year the armed forces formulated labor plans to support Socialist construction. Under the unified leadership of local party organs, they took part in a planned way in the construction of irrigation facilities, accumulation of manure, emergency repairs, cultivation and harvesting \* \* \* under adverse weather conditions.

Talking of how they proceeded to a work project, the article says that military and commune leaders—

planned the work on a map in the way they might prepare for a battle. Immediately after the conference, thousands of men marched to the work sites and set up work in a temperature of 10° to 20° below zero.

The slogan of the serviceman was:

The Red army proved itself equal to the ordeals of the long march and heroes are not afraid of the old northern wind. Let us build irrigation facilities over the blankets of snow and ice. In less than 21 days they completed a 44-kilometer major waterway and a 12-kilometer irrigation ditch.

Senator KEATING. Before you go any further what are these janissaries that you spoke about?

Mr. HUNTER. I referred to the practice in Turkey up to about a hundred years ago, of taking children from their parents, and raising them as the personal armed force of the Sultan, along with slaves, who usually were foreign captives.

Senator KEATING. Is that a janissary?

Mr. HUNTER. That is the word.

Senator KEATING. To describe that system?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. That is the prospect, if we let this go on, and if the free world does not help the enslaved Chinese destroy this horrible system. The child already is being taken from the cradle. He begins receiving military training as soon as he—or she—can walk. The intent is to raise a generation of brainwashed human ants that can be depended upon—the Communist word is “reliable”—to be sent or used anywhere like janissaries. to fulfill unthinkingly whatever instructions come from the top.



“Almost all the workers in this foundry are women,” reads the caption to a photo showing several little girl workers, hardly in their teens. Nothing more primitive could be improvised than this “foundry.” The photo is reproduced from a late 1958 issue of the Communist magazine, “China Pictorial,” of Peking.

Senator KEATING. What, in your opinion, should this country do to prevent that?

Mr. HUNTER. I think that at a time like this we have to do what any individual group of people or country has always had to do when confronted by a critical emergency. That is, go back to first principles as George Washington recommended.

Senator KEATING. I understand that, but what?

Mr. HUNTER. We should help our friends. We should make sure we have an aid program, but that it really aids those who wish to maintain or establish a free society or who wish to free themselves from enslavement, that we provide, in every way we can, whatever help we can for those who are enslaved.

Senator KEATING. But not in Communist China?

Mr. HUNTER. In Communist China, too. There was no reason why the people of Communist China, who were cut off from all sources of information, should not have been given full details about the commune system, what it really is, so that when the poor farmers were approached by a Communist activist and told, “We are going to give you free food and free clothes; all you have to do is to demolish the house in which you live, it isn’t a good house, anyway, and come

over and join our big family," they would have known of the trap. We should spread information on what the Communists do. They make sure that people everywhere in the world hear what they have to say. They make sure that everywhere, anyone who helps the Communists, who opposes anti-Communist activities, or who tries to set up a Communist revolt, feels he can depend on them for help in every way.

Senator DODD. How would you get this to them?

Mr. HUNTER. After all, there is the radio.

Senator DODD. How would you do this? How many people in China have radio receivers?

Mr. HUNTER. Comparatively few, but there are radios all through China.

Senator DODD. That is Government radio.

Mr. HUNTER. The Chinese Communists broadcast to all parts of the world. We can go onto those channels. We ourselves don't have to do it; volunteers can do it.

Senator DODD. Is it possible for our information service to broadcast over the Government-controlled radio facilities in China?

Mr. HUNTER. This is war.

Senator DODD. I realize that.

Mr. HUNTER. Unless we recognize it is war, it will cease being a psychological war, and we will find ourselves in a shooting war.

Senator DODD. I understand that. What I am trying to find out is, if you can tell us how would we go about getting a broadcast onto the Government-controlled radio. Certainly, they control the radio.

Mr. HUNTER. By using psychological warfare techniques. Also, along China's frontiers is a soft underbelly, areas through which material can be smuggled. There is smuggling going on.

Mr. SOURWINE. With your permission might I interpolate? The Senator is talking about the use of Government broadcasting equipment. And I believe Mr. Hunter is talking about putting a signal on the same frequency as the Government channels.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes.

Senator DODD. It would be extremely difficult to do. We find that true in other places.

Mr. HUNTER. There are a multitude of ways to help. During World War II we engaged in psychological warfare. I was in OSS. I participated in it. There are many ways.

Senator DODD. Is there anything else in answer to Senator Keating's question? What can we do? Is there anything else?

Mr. HUNTER. I believe we should channel our aid to those countries and those groups which show initiative in their defense and in fighting communism. I believe we should invite to America, and give prestige to those heads of governments which show that they are willing to do this.

Senator DODD. What can we do in China? Isn't that the question by Senator Keating?

Senator KEATING. That is right.

Mr. HUNTER. We can encourage volunteers, see that guerrilla and other activities on the soil of China get what help can be smuggled in from other parts of the world. In fact, you have in all the countries of Asia, as far away as Indonesia, in Burma, Thailand, and Japan, local elements who are tremendously eager to help. I met many of

them in India, active people who are only handicapped because they get no help from anywhere. They are isolated.

We once had a committee called the Committee for a Free Asia. It is no longer in existence; it is now an Asia Foundation.

Senator DODD. Isn't there some practical way?

Mr. HUNTER. Our help should go to those that fight communism.

Senator DODD. How would you get them in?

Mr. HUNTER. They will do it themselves. Help them. See that they get, when they ask, supplies and financial help. Have our help not just go to Socialists, but to the aid—

Senator DODD. This is about China now.

Mr. HUNTER. I mean people in Burma, and the Chinese overseas communities all around China.

Senator DODD. Would they walk into China? Is it easy to do?

Mr. HUNTER. It is not easy. Yet, smuggling takes place all the time. When I was in Macao, there were gangs there which operated on both sides of the border.

Senator DODD. I know we have to do better than that; we have to have an organized movement.

Mr. HUNTER. We should use volunteers. There are plenty. When I say "volunteers," I do not mean ourselves, or that we should put on a bluff. There are plenty in Asia who genuinely, sincerely want nothing more than to fight communism. I mean literally, in the dictionary sense of the words—foreign volunteers. They will do it. But if we refuse to "interfere," to give any help, but instead play footsie with the Communists and have cultural relations with them so that the Chinese are made to think that the West has finally agreed that Red China is here to stay, well, they will lose all hope.

The whole of the domestic Red strategy during this period while they are off balance, is to deprive their people of the last hope, to persuade them that they are in a hopeless situation. This is the Red hopelessness-inevitability propaganda line, which proclaims that Communist victory is inevitable, and that to oppose it is hopeless. The greatest help we could give would be to show evidence that it is not hopeless.

Senator DODD. I think that is all. I thought you might be giving us some ideas.

Mr. HUNTER. I know a great many techniques. There are plenty of Asians willing and eager. Think of the overseas Chinese in a country like Indonesia.

Senator DODD. What do you think would be the Chinese reaction of an organized movement getting guerrillas into the mainland?

Mr. HUNTER. It is not a matter of an organized movement. It is that when something takes place, as is taking place at this very moment in Tibet, when bit by bit, each area in China is crushed in turn, we shouldn't stand by and do nothing. The crime of Tibet is bigger than the crime of Hungary. Have we done anything about bringing that into the U.N.?

Senator KEATING. What should we do about Tibet?

Mr. HUNTER. I think that, exactly as the Communists do in their way, only more so, whenever an incident of that sort happens, we should make sure—on the Senate floor, in the United Nations, by our newspapermen—that it is shouted from the housetops, that everyone

knows about it, that the full details are given. And we should see that the missions that come out of Tibet into India are not ignored or treated like enemies, which is the way they are being received just now. We are turning away—

Senator DODD. Would you recommend the same policy toward Russia—and for any other Communist country?

Mr. HUNTER. The main, vulnerable area in the Communist world just now is China, and the open spaces in the east of Russia. This is something very realistic; it is too late for just long-range strategy. We should focus strategy on not letting people down when they show they are willing to resist. This is fundamental; it could mean our destruction if we do not follow it through. Mao Tse-tung has very plainly stated, as part of the Communist war strategy, that the Western World and the United States are to be consumed bite by bite, mouthful by mouthful. He has compared it to a meal. He uses the eating symbol. You do not sit at a meal and in one gulp consume it all, but take it bite by bite. This is how they are operating against their enemies inside China and the "imperialists," meaning us.

I would like to quote that paragraph.

Senator KEATING. You can supply it for the record.

Mr. HUNTER. It is just one paragraph:

The same is true of eating a meal. Strategically \* \* \* when actually eating, we do it a mouthful at a time. It would be impossible for you to swallow the entire feast in a single mouthful. This is called one-by-one solution. And in military literature, it is called smashing the enemy one by one.

This was not said by Mao Tse-tung years ago; it was said on November 18, 1957.

Senator DODD. What is the most helpful thing that the free world is doing for Red China now?

Mr. HUNTER. The extent to which we are giving the Chinese people a sense of not being alone, of having hope.

Senator DODD. We are not doing much of that.

Mr. HUNTER. That is the tragedy.

Senator DODD. I assume you would say, if I phrased the question differently, that trade to Red China is helping them, isn't it?

Mr. HUNTER. Of course.

Senator DODD. Do you think that should be?

Mr. HUNTER. The extent, limited though it be, to which we are holding the line in boycotting Red China of what it needs to regain its balance against the Chinese masses that hate it have been most helpful. Unfortunately, the line is very, very much torn; it has big gaps in it.

Senator DODD. What are we doing that is helping them that we should not be doing?

Mr. HUNTER. That we should not be doing? Slackening our boycott of trade and our cultural program. Any deal with the Communists is interpreted immediately by the people as evidence of friendliness by us for Peking.

Senator DODD. How far would you go? You would not talk to them at all?

Mr. HUNTER. Not to deal, except as we know exactly what we are doing, and insist on it. For instance, if there must be a conference in Warsaw with Red China's delegates, we should make sure that the language that is being spoken is as defined in our dictionaries. Otherwise the moment an agreement is signed, simultaneously with its signing, it is broken. But it is not really broken. The Communists merely are observing it according to dialectical materialism. We should know what we are doing, and not enter a conference booth like a naive, young man on his first day at a country fair.

Senator DODD. Would you say we should have some contact with them?

Mr. HUNTER. The contact that psychological warfare requires, and that can be encouraging to the enslaved people, not discouraging to them. This is a situation without precedence, and we have to determine our strategy as we go along. They are determining their strategy as they go along.

Senator DODD. You don't think there is any hope in conducting negotiations with them over, say Formosa, and so forth?

Mr. HUNTER. There is. You can negotiate with the Communists any time you wish under two premises. Knowing he will sign anything by which he gives something verbal in exchange for a tangible benefit. And knowing we have power behind us, so that the Communist Party realizes it cannot twist an agreement once it is made. Then, yes, we can negotiate. We have to negotiate as if with a band of thugs, because it is a racketeering gang that has seized control of the Chinese mainland. And it is a very dangerous situation for us as well as the world. We have to have power behind us. The moment we have no power, it makes no difference whether we negotiate or not because they then will tell us what they want, and we are going to do it. There will be no negotiations then.

Mr. SOURWINE. I should like to ask permission be given for Mr. Hunter to insert into the record the additional quotes and photographs which he said he had which illustrated the points that he has made.

Senator KEATING. It is so ordered.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions.

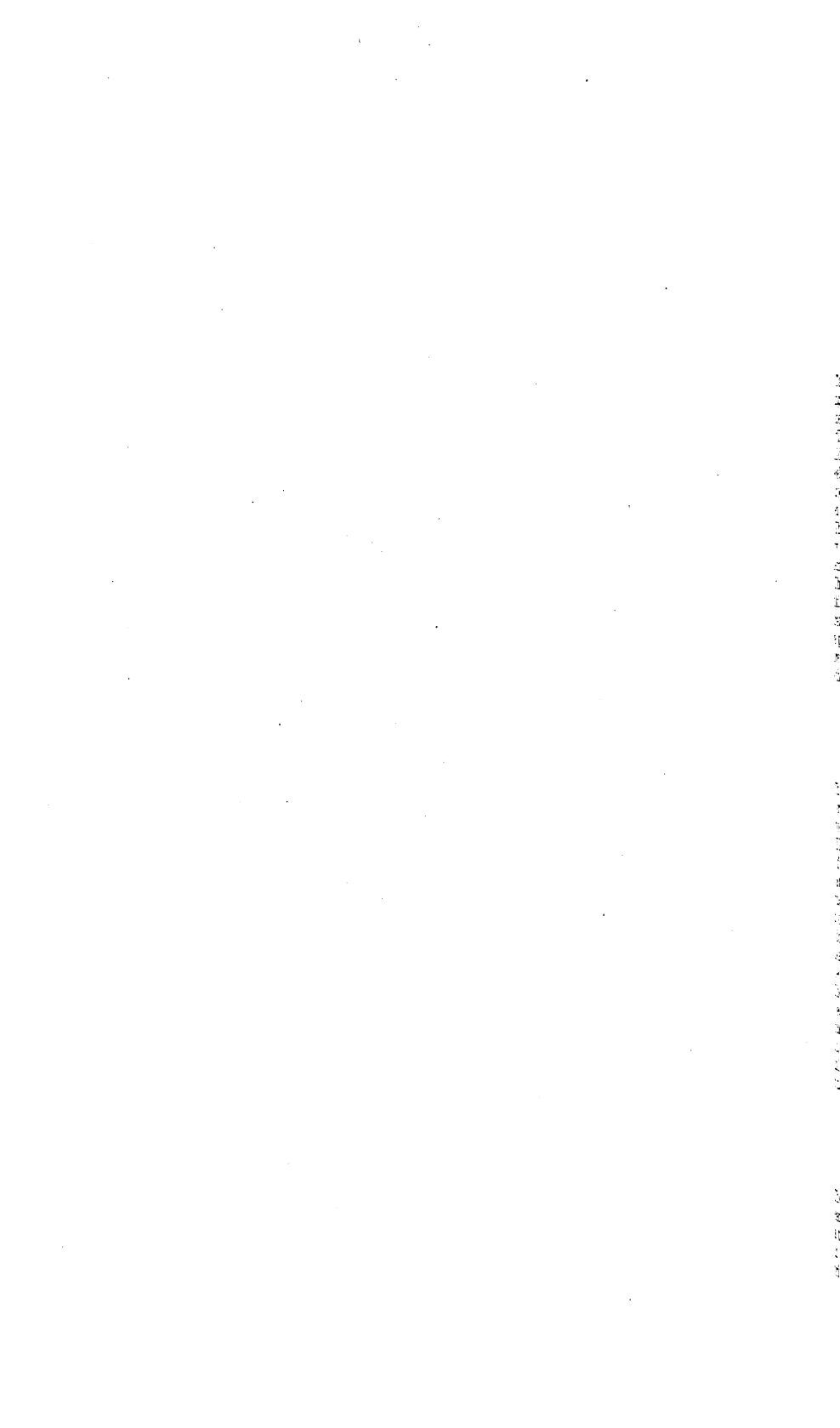
Senator DODD. No further questions.

Senator KEATING. Thank you very much, Mr. Hunter. It has been very illuminating and we may want to call you back again.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you.

Senator KEATING. The committee is now adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 5 p.m., the committee adjourned.)





# APPENDIXES

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## APPENDIX I

### "THE NEW MEN OF SOCIALISM"

Tao Chu, first secretary of the Chinese Communist Party branch in Kwangtung Province, as quoted in a dispatch from Canton on January 12, 1959, published in the Communist organ at Hong Kong, the Wen-hui Pao, as follows:

"The opening of kindergartens and nurseries has also solved the problem of child education. Leading a collective life, the child will as a matter of course receive social and collective moulding and education. They form from infancy a good collective and socialist habit, and will when grown up, become the new men of socialism."

This hardly disguises the Pavlovian intent of the nurseries, where parents now have to send their children from infancy. They are not permitted to take them with them on work assignments in the communes.

The prolonged working day, and the calculated utilization of their remaining waking hours in regimented recreation and in indoctrination sessions, leaves parents simply no time to spend with their children. Meanwhile, the little ones are put under as wearying and consuming a daily routine as they can endure. Parents and children do not have to be forbidden to come together; they have neither the time nor the energy.

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## APPENDIX II

### PURPOSE OF THE COMMUNE

The leveling-down process for all the people of China, in the huge Pavlovian laboratories called communes, is typically described in this quotation from an editorial in the People's Daily of Peking, on September 3, 1958:

"The establishment of the people's communes has provided good conditions for the further development of the relations of production in the countryside. The expansion of the people's communes and the merger of people's communes and townships into one entity, which facilitates the rapid advance of industry, mining, communications, culture, and education in the rural areas, makes it possible gradually to eliminate the differences between rural and urban areas, between peasants and workers, between peasants and intellectuals, as well as between collective ownership and ownership by the whole people."

The People's Daily is the mouthpiece of the Communist Party of China, and its editorials are binding regulations which must be studied in all the re-education and other brainwashing groups everywhere on the Chinese mainland, and adhered to by officials and judges everywhere. Outside of the Communist world, nothing corresponds to this use of a newspaper as the mouthpiece for naked power.

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## APPENDIX III

### THE "ENABLING" LANGUAGE

The following excerpts are from the resolution on Chinese communes adopted December 10, 1958, by the central committee, Communist Party of China. This was the conference that backtracked on some of the more Draconian measures, such as immediate absorption of the cities into the communes, and the total deprivation of the peasantry of the slightest possession, even a teapot.

The ideological retreat was presented as concessions and evidence of Communist liberality. This is in keeping with the Pavlovian tactic of first depriving a dog—or a human—of practically everything necessary for survival, then restoring a little of it. A sort of animal gratitude is thus exacted.

These excerpts should be read with the Red doubletalk—Communist English—kept in mind, in order to be accurately understood.

"In 1958, a new social organization appeared fresh as the morning sun above the broad horizon of East Asia. This was the large-scale people's communes in the rural areas of our country which combine industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs and in which government administration and commune management are integrated.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Within a few months, starting in the summer of 1958, all of the more than 740,000 agricultural producers' cooperatives in the country, \* \* \* had reorganized themselves into over 26,000 people's communes. Over 120 million households, or more than 99 percent of all the peasant households of various nationalities in China have joined the people's communes.

\* \* \* \* \*

"In the future, the urban people's communes, in a form suited to the specific features of cities, will also become instruments for transformation of the old cities and construction of the new, Socialist cities.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The people's commune is the basic unit of the Socialist social structure of our country, which combines industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs; it is, at the same time, the basic unit of organization of socialist state power.

"People's communes must go in for industry in a big way. The development of industry by the people's communes will not only accelerate the industrialization of the whole country but also promote the realization of ownership by the whole people in the rural districts, and reduce the differences between town and countryside. According to the differing conditions in each people's commune, an appropriate part of the labor force should be switched, step by step, from agriculture to industry to develop, according to plan, the production of fertilizer, insecticides, farm implements and machinery, building materials, the processing and many-sided use of agricultural produce, the manufacturing of sugar, textiles and paper, mining, metallurgy, electric power and other light and heavy industries. Industrial production in the people's communes must be closely linked with agricultural production.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The principle of combining education with productive labor must be carried out thoroughly in all schools, without exception. Children above the age of nine may take part in some labor to an appropriate extent \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

"What we describe as getting organized along military lines means getting organized on the pattern of a factory. It means that organization of labor in the people's commune should be as organized and disciplined as in a factory or the army \* \* \*

"Militia organizations should be set up at corresponding levels of the production organizations in the people's commune. The leading bodies of the militia and production organizations should be separate and, in principle, the commanding officers of the various levels of the militia, such as regimental, battalion and company commanders, should not be concurrently directors of communes and administrative districts (leaders of production brigades) and leaders of production teams.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The organizations of the Communist Party and communes should be carefully checked over at the same time to guarantee that the lead-personnel of the Communist Party and communes at various levels are activists loyal to the interests of the people and to the cause of communism."

## APPENDIX IV

## WAGES AND BONUSES

A description of the use of wages and bonuses—and the so-called free supply system—as pressure tactics in the communes to extort as much slave labor as humanly possible, can be found in the text of an editorial in the new Peking publication, "Red Flag." Here is the text, as put out on the Chinese radio March 15, 1959:

Various areas have regarded the solution of the distribution question as an important phase of work in the tidying up and strengthening of people's communes. Many provinces have suggested the adoption of the rigid rating and flexible appraisal method for the distribution of wages among commune members. According to this method, people's communes issue wages to various production brigades according to the wage scale already set up. The production brigades then appraise the work of each commune member, credit him with a number of work points, and pay him according to his work points each month. This method is derived from experiences of former high-level agricultural producers' cooperatives in work appraisal and work point calculation. It embodies the principles of "to each according to his work" and "the more one works the more one gets."

According to the Marxist-Leninist principle, the production system and the ownership system of a society decide the form of method for the distribution of social products. For a considerably long period to come, the people's communes in our nation will continue to be of a socialist nature instead of a Communist nature. Within a certain period of time, they will continue to be of a collective ownership nature instead of an all-people ownership nature. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to implement the principles of "to each according to his work" and "the more one works the more one gets" in the distribution of products in people's communes.

Implementation of the principle of "to each according to his work" can cultivate a good social attitude toward labor, facilitate control and supervision of production, make rational distribution of work possible, and help establish the responsibility system in production and the system of accounting and budgeting. It helps to develop production and to increase social products, benefits socialist construction, and prepares the requirement for the gradual transition to communism.

"To each according to his work" means to use work as a yardstick for the distribution of social consumer goods. It is a great equality when compared with compensation without toiling. Of course, differences in income may still exist under the implementation of this distribution system. However, such differences are not the same as those differences which exist between the exploiting class and the exploited class. They are not the same as those differences between the poor and the rich as the result of class differentiation among the peasants prior to the cooperativization program in agriculture. The differences are of a little more or a little less income among the production brigades and their individual members as the result of differences in work quantity and quality, and in productive foundations.

Part of such differences may continue to exist indefinitely in a Communist society because men's needs cannot be the same. Part of them will be eliminated in the Communist society. However, all such differences must and should be recognized. To recognize the differences is to prepare the conditions for the gradual elimination of those differences that can be and should be eliminated in the future.

The elimination of such differences can be realized only through the equalization of the economic development levels of all production brigades, the great growth of the economy of the people's communes, the industrialization of the entire nation, industrialization of people's communes, and mechanization and electrification of agriculture. If we simply try to eliminate such differences by the method of equal distribution, we will make the mistake of equalitarianism and end up playing a negative and destructive roll in social production and the communalization program.

Under the principle of running communes diligently and economically, it is a complicated problem for people's communes to make distribution properly. The distribution problem deals with the individuals, collective, and state relations. In fact, it is a question of the relation between our party and the 500

million peasants. As production increases, both savings and expenditures have to be increased. This is the basic principle of distribution.

However, the increase in savings cannot be too great and too rapid; an appropriate ratio must be maintained between savings and expenditures. The party central committee has ruled that 90 percent of the commune members have to be guaranteed a somewhat higher income than that of last year and that the income of the remaining commune members must not be less than that of last year, thus setting the lowest limit. In the distribution of expenditures, a correct proportion between expenditures for collective purpose and expenditures for individuals must also be maintained. Furthermore, the portion for individual consumption should occupy an important position. The portion for collective consumption, too, must not be increased too much nor too fast.

The system of combined wages and supply of needs has been adopted for the distribution of that portion of expenditures earmarked for individual consumption. This system is the initial stage of the system of "to each according to his needs." We should vigorously protect and support the growth of such a step. However, a correct proportion also must be maintained between that portion earmarked for the supply of needs and that portion for wages. Just as it was stated in the resolutions adopted by the sixth plenary session of the eighth CCP central committee, the portion for wages will remain the main portion for a long period of time and must be increased at a comparatively rapid rate. The wage levels should maintain an appropriate difference but not too large a difference.

The editorial said: "Some people wonder whether or not there is a contradiction between the implementation of the systems 'to each according to his work' and 'the more one works the more one gets' and political leadership. This is, of course, a misunderstanding. What are politics? In the Socialist society of our nation, it means first of all to recognize and firmly maintain the socialist principles. It means opposition to rightist conservatism as well as leftist adventurism. It also means the correct handling of the internal contradictions of a Socialist society, the correct implementation of the principle of 'to each according to his work.' It is an important phase of work in the firm support of Socialist principles and in the correct handling of internal contradictions of socialism."

Of course, the implementation of such a distribution system cannot take the place of political ideology. Therefore, while being concerned with the material interests of the masses, we must also pay attention to strengthening our work on political ideology, stepping up Socialist and Communist education among the masses of people in order to unceasingly raise the consciousness of the masses, develop unceasingly the initiative and creative spirit of the masses in their work. Politics and economy should be united. The principle of conducting ideological education among the masses and the principle of concern over the material interests of the masses should be united into one. This is the only way to benefit the development of production, raise the people's consciousness, strengthen people's communes, benefit Socialist construction, and help the transition from socialism to communism.

#### APPENDIX V

#### CHINA TRADE

J. M. Jumabhoj, Minister for Commerce and Industry of the Singapore government, made this revealing declaration in a speech to the legislative assembly there on December 3, 1958:

"I must take this opportunity of correcting some misimpressions that might have been created in the minds of the people of Singapore by certain statements alleged to have been made by the trading agencies in (Communist) China in their correspondence with Singapore merchants, as quoted in press reports.

"It has been alleged that the reported suspension by China in certain lines of exports to Singapore resulted from certain discriminatory actions of the Singapore government. The only action by Singapore that could be construed as such was the ban imposed last month at the request of the Federation (of Malaya) Government on imports of certain types of textiles.

"If we are looking to a merger with the Federation, it is the clear duty of any Singapore government to do its best to prevent the undermining of the Malayan economy. The step taken by Singapore government at the request of the Federation Government to temporarily safeguard their textile industry is not, therefore, a discriminatory step against China as such; but a step taken for the benefit of the Malayan economy as a whole.

"It might bear a little explaining why this step was taken against the particular type of textiles only from China.

"It is quite apparent that the trading policy of China is strongly influenced by political considerations, as is evidenced from the fact that China has been selling these goods below the comparative producing cost of countries like Japan, where there is a high degree of automation and labor is cheap. In fact, China has been able to underprice her goods even below the cost of Hong Kong producers who have had at their command cheap refugee labor.

"It is apparent, therefore, that China's policy has been to dump its goods in certain markets at a price which has no bearing on the cost of production, in order to undermine the industries of certain countries. \* \* \*

"Fair competition in trade has always been encouraged by the Singapore government but where undercutting with political motives results in damage to the Malayan economy the government feels that it has an obligation to the Malayan economy as a whole, even though the particular industry concerned may be located in the federation.

"In short, while the Singapore government has no intention or wish to hamper trade between China and Singapore, it is its clear duty to see that such trade is not to the detriment of any of our industries or to the Malayan economy as a whole, and this not only applies to China but to any other country.

"To blame the Singapore government in the fashion reported by the press is therefore a clear indication of China's desire to make political capital out of what is purely a step dictated by economic necessity to Singapore. \* \* \*

#### APPENDIX VI

##### EDWARD HUNTER—A BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

(Permanent address: 64 Webster Ave., Port Washington, N.Y. Telephone: Port Washington 7-4514.)

Author:

"Brainwashing in Red China," Vanguard Press, Inc., New York City.

"Brainwashing: The Story of Men Who Defied It," Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, Inc., New York City.

"The Story of Mary Liu," Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, Inc., New York City, and Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London.

Fifty-page historical and biographical preface for U Nu's five-act play, "The People Win Through," Taplinger Publishing Co., 119 West 57th St., New York City 19.

"The Past Present: A Year in Afghanistan," published March 19, 1959, Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London. (St. Paul's House, Warwick Square, London EC 4.)

"The Black Book on Red China," Bookmaller, Inc., \$2; 209 E. 34th St., New York City 3.

Excerpt from his biography in 1958-59 Who's Who in America:

"Hunter, Edward, foreign correspondent, author, born New York City, July 2, 1902 \* \* \* Reporter, news editor various newspapers including Newark Ledger, New Orleans Item, New York Post, New York American, reporter Paris edition Chicago Tribune, 1924-25; news editor, Japan Advertiser, Tokyo, 1927; editor Hankow (China) Herald, 1928-29; Peiping Leader, 1929-30; covered Japanese conquest of Manchuria, Spanish Civil War, Italian conquest of Ethiopia, International News Service, 1931-36; pioneered in revealing brainwashing, introducing it to written word; consultant USAF, 1953-54. Served as propaganda warfare specialist, morale operations section, OSS, AUS, Asia. \* \* \*

In interview form, he is the author of the publication, "Communist Psychological Warfare, Brainwashing," a consultation of the Un-American Activities Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., on sale by U.S. Printing Office at 15 cents.

Contributor to numerous magazines, as: Coronet, Esquire, Reader's Digest, American Legion magazine, Harper's, and so forth.

Lecturer, consultant.

At close of Mr. Hunter's testimony at congressional hearing on pressures against the mind (brainwashing), June 19, 1956, Senator John L. McClellan, chairman, said:

"I am sure your books and your writings and your experience will be very valuable if we can get all that before the American people."

## APPENDIX VII

The following translation of an article in a Yugoslav paper, on the subject of Chinese communes, was received by the subcommittee subsequent to the hearing at which Mr. Hunter testified on the subject and was ordered by the chairman to be printed with the hearing record:

[From "Der Aktuelle Osten," published by the German Committee for Peace and Freedom, Bonn, Germany, Apr. 4, 1959]

## LIKE THE SLAVES OF PHARAOH . . .

*Yugoslav eyewitnesses on the industrialization of China*

Through the precipitate conversion of the collectives and production communities into so-called people's communes in which many thousands of persons are merged in production units, symptoms heralding a crisis have emerged, forcing the Communist Party of China to slow down the conversion process, grant certain easements, and draw the necessary political inferences. Among the latter is Mao Tse-tung's decision not to run again for the post of President of the state. While only few reliable details on the state of the people's communes are available, an article by the Yugoslav professor, Maks Snuderl, which was published in August 1958, by the Laibach newspaper Slovenski Porocvalec, provides an insight into the development which led up to the establishment of the people's communes. It is the report of a journey which Professor Snuderl wrote after his return from an extensive tour of China. In the following, we are bringing some excerpts from his article:

On viewing the villages of China from the train or the car, one notices at once that there is a scarcity of beasts of draft. The ploughs are drawn by human beings—men, women, and children. Moreover, there is little cattle and consequently neither meat nor milk are available. The houses in the country are built from mud: four walls, a roof, and an opening for the door. In these huts men and beasts are housed together. In the rural districts it is not possible to provide sufficient clothing for the population; thus, the people are either dressed in rags, straw garments, or are more or less naked. Here the enormous backwardness with which China has to cope becomes evident. A foreigner who, for professional reasons, has been living in China for many years and traveled a great deal around the country, told me that the backwardness in the rural districts was so enormous that the people had not even reached the transition point from primitive man to civilization.

## "FIRST PROVE YOURSELF A COMMUNIST—THEN YOU'LL BE AN EXPERT"

The continuous growth of the population for whom already at this point there is not sufficient food available, explains why so much attention is being given to the national economy, and in particular to production. This problem ranks above all others. Nowadays, all production means in China are in the hands of the state. There is no longer any privately owned real estate, and no production business is conducted along private lines. Thus, a ricksha coolie belongs to a cooperative, and the rickshas are the property of the state. The state apparatus governs the entire economy. It is a typical system of state capitalism with a highly developed bureaucracy. Every Chinese must act according to the directives of the state and party functionaries. Nobody is allowed to own any personal property; all must live modestly and keep on working—though not according to their own ideas.

There is no such thing as criticism or independent thinking. Party orders are indisputable laws. Whoever has his own opinion departing from the extremely primitive Stalinist catechism must register voluntarily for physical work. As a rule, university professors and intellectuals need only furnish proof that they are Reds to be appointed "experts." The governing slogan is "First prove yourself a Communist, then you'll be an expert." Every academic course entails physical work for the professors and the students. Physical work is regarded as essential for reaching full understanding of Marxism.

## THE PEKING DAM

In many places we were told that students, professors, and other officials had volunteered for work on the construction of the new large dam near Peiping. As far as we could make out, everybody had to volunteer for this work, for whoever failed to enter his name in the relevant lists could be sure of being called for by the police. Of course, I was interested to see how the people were being set to work. The dam in the vicinity of Peiping shuts off a valley about 30 miles long where the famous graves of the Ming emperors are located. The dam will be roughly 2,000 feet in length and 90 feet high while the width will be 400 feet at the base and 20 feet at the top. Some 120,000 volunteers, almost all of them intellectuals, have been set to work on this site.

In all likelihood the majority of these intellectuals consist of "rightist deviators" who cultivated bourgeois tendencies instead of criticizing them, lacked sufficient party consciousness and the ability to adapt their work to the party wishes, ceased to be "either Red or experts," making the desired "leap forward" in the fulfillment of their tasks, and so on and so forth. All these are deficiencies contained in the list of slogans. However, in the eyes of the Red powerholders, there are still other failings, in particular the following six: laziness, vanity, dogmatism, pessimism, extravagance—I'm sorry, but I have forgotten the sixth. Or else, they have sinned by not killing sufficient amounts of the officially declared four enemies: flies, mosquitoes, mice, and sparrows.

In this manner, many reasons can be found to recruit sufficient people for "voluntary" work on the Peking Dam. These 120,000 volunteers work in three shifts, each shift numbering 40,000. From a hill we watched 40,000 people pile up earth on the dam, measuring already 45 feet. They worked in teams of two, carrying between them a large earth-filled basket hanging from a stick. They dragged this basket up the dam, emptied it, and went back to fetch a new load. These pyramid builders marched in a continuous row; i.e., not in a single file but row beside row. There were a few mechanical devices to be seen; a narrow-gage line running alongside the dam, and a few cranes. We saw many soldiers among the workers but none of them carrying any earth. So as to demonstrate the voluntary nature of the work, and the solidarity of the countries in the Socialist camp, members of the diplomatic missions of the Socialist countries were also taking part in the work on this particular day (Yugoslavia, however, had not been invited). Nevertheless, the Government is experiencing quite a number of difficulties with this dam. Originally, the construction of the dam was not to be started before the end of the second 5-year plan but, according to the official version, the peasants had clamored so insistently for the privilege of abandoning their houses and their cattle, so as to make room for the 30-mile lake, that the Government had to yield and ordered work to be started on the dam already in February of this year. \* \* \*

With feverish haste, the Chinese regime is setting up gigantic industrial plants and effecting vast transport projects. We were told that a new enterprise is taken into operation every 40 hours. We saw the new bridge leading over the Yangtze-kiang near Wuhan. Formerly, traffic across the river was handled by ship. The bridge was built in 2 years instead of in 3, as had originally been planned.

## 53,000 WORKERS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A STEEL PLANT

Moreover, we were shown another large industrial project near Wuhan; the Wu Je steel works, 20 miles from the city. Construction was begun in 1955 and is scheduled to be completed by 1960. In the initial phase, the plant is to turn out 1.5 million tons of steel annually, but after 1961 the output is to increase to 3.5 million tons. Here, too, we saw people work like the slaves of Pharaoh. We saw men work like ants, with very few technical aids, in a chaos of mud, filth, vehicles, dilapidated roads, and materials. Are the workers who really do look weak, so feeble as to justify such a concentration at one single building site? 53,000 workers! Everywhere huts and shacks have been put up, together with 30 schools including an evening course school and 2 secondary schools, as well as 25 clubs, a cinema and a theater, 21 sports grounds, a hospital, and 40 distribution centers for medical supplies. We were told that the work was being done in the spirit of achieving the "big leap" in accordance with the slogan "Improve the Working Style" and "Overtake England in 15 Years." Accordingly, a smokestack was built in 45 days instead of in 3 months. We were shown what machines were the gifts of the Soviet Union, the Soviet-

occupied zone of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. But my Yugoslav companion called out: "Listen, my friend; we, too, are building useful things, even if not on so large a scale and in such quantities; however, we have not received any gifts from other Socialist countries. We build everything alone, without foreign or brotherly help." Thereafter, our Chinese guide made no more mention of foreign help.

#### PATRIOTISM—OR FEAR PLUS EXTORTIONATE METHODS

We could only marvel at the unbelievable sacrifices the Chinese workers are making. Is it really proletarian consciousness and awakening patriotism due to the opportunities the state is providing, or rather the result of fear and extortionate methods?

Economic development, rapid industrialization, and progress in the rural districts are being promoted through the quick growth of technical schools, in particular through a kind of technical institutes. In Peking there are at least 30 of such schools for all kinds of callings—for aviation, railroads, geology, veterinary science, medicine, agriculture, radio, film, sociology, etc., let alone professions with whose names we are not even familiar. The occupation level is exceptionally low since the former scientists have been largely replaced by so-called experts. This is the reason why the graduates from these schools are none too good. Nevertheless, they are better than none at all, and it is hoped that they will acquire greater knowledge once they have taken up practical work. At the Agricultural Academy in Peking, which was established in 1948, there are the following faculties: agronomy, agrochemistry, pedology, dental surgery, fruit growing, meteorology, veterinary medicine, and agroeconomy. The academy numbers 2,100 students. They have a model farm and an animal hospital. In Nanking, an agricultural institute for east China was established in 1950; it has departments for agriculture, animal husbandry, cultivation of vegetables, and veterinary medicine. In Wuhan, we saw an agricultural university which was established in 1952 and has 1,700 students. All this is new and was started on a grand scale, and everything is still in the stage of construction.

Strict rules govern all these schools. Experts at any price are eagerly sought. At these institutes there is a complete absence of democratic and academic freedoms as well as of human rights. "Study and work unceasingly" is the slogan. Everywhere, the party has its agents; principals and deacons are administrators and not pedagogs; they watch over the work of the professors. They censor their lectures and check even the holding of these lectures; moreover, they see to it that the prescribed principles are observed to the letter. These principles regarding party discipline represent the technique with which the masses are being organized. They are necessary if the economic program is to be carried out.

Professor Snuderl's report shows that as a Communist and functionary of a country toward which at that time—the trip took place during the first half of 1958—friendly feelings were still entertained, he was given ample opportunity to obtain a thorough insight. The mixture of formal agreement and ironic criticism which characterizes his report clearly reveals the misgivings which even Communist countries have in respect of the feasibility of the Chinese plans.

Nor can the criticism be overheard which is officially expressed in Moscow regarding the Chinese activities. It is yet too early to decide whether this has been a contributing factor towards slowing down the establishment of people's communes in China, or whether the Chinese government itself realized the impossibility to carry out its plans. At all events, the theory that Moscow is fearing to be overtaken by China in its production as a result of the establishment of the people's communes does not hold water. Rather, it is more likely that the Soviet government fears a possible Chinese collapse in consequence of the hectic activities displayed by the people's communes and that this might force it to supply costly assistance to China.



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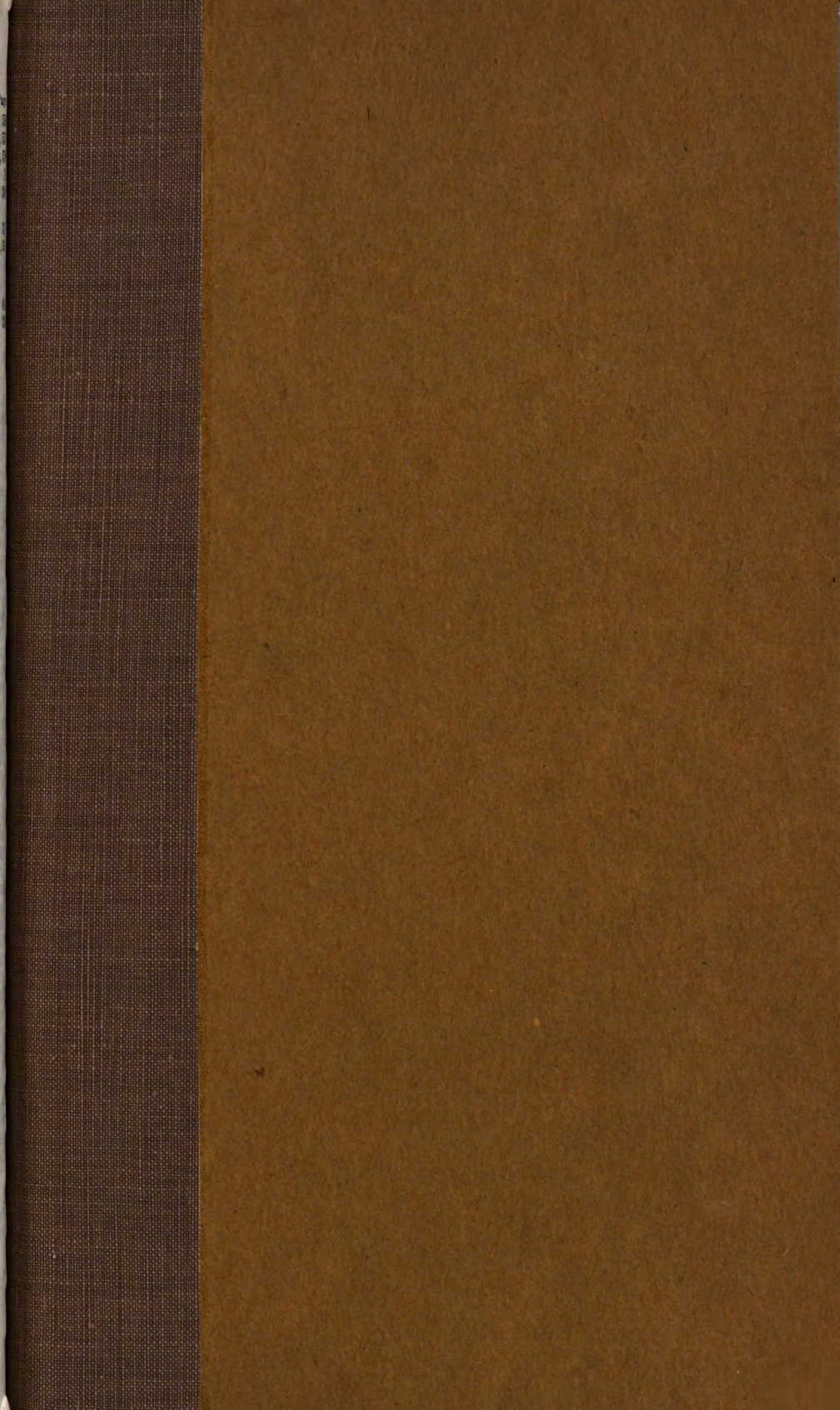
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